

Gal. 1:1-12

- 1 Paul, an apostle
nor from men
nor through men
but through Jesus Christ
and God the Father who raised him from death,
2 and those with me all brothers to the churches of the Galatians,
3 grace to you and peace
from God our Father
4 and the Lord Jesus Christ who gave himself for our sins,
so as he might deliver us from the present evil age
according to the will of our God and Father
5 to whom the glory into the ages of the ages, Amen.
6 I am amazed that thus so quickly you turn
from the one calling you in Christ's grace
to a different gospel,
7 there is not another,
except some are troubling you
and willing to turn aside the gospel of Christ.
8 But even if we or an angel from heaven
preach to you alongside that which has been preached to you,
let him be accursed.
9 As I said before, also now again I say, if anyone
preaches to you alongside that which you have received,
let him be accursed.
10 For now is it men I curry favor with or God?
or is it men I seek to please?
If it is still men I please,
I would not have been Christ's servant.
11 For I make known to you, brothers, the gospel preached by me
that it is not according to men
12 for not from men
did I receive it nor was I taught it but through a revelation of Jesus Christ.

Gal. 1:1-13-24

13 For you have heard of my former life in Judaism, how I persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it; and I advanced in
14 Judaism beyond my own age among my people, so extremely zealous was I
15 for the traditions of my fathers. But when it pleased God, who set me apart before I was born and had called me through his grace, to reveal
16 his Son in me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles

17 I did not confer with flesh and blood nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned to Damascus.

18 Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas and
19 remained with him fifteen days. But I saw none of the other
20 apostles except James the Lord's brother. In what I am writing to
21 you, before God, I do not lie! Then I went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia.

22 And I was still not known by sight to the churches of Christ in Judea;
23 they only heard it said "He who once persecuted us is now preaching the
24 faith he once tried to destroy." And they glorified God because of me

Gal. 2:1-10

1 Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas
2 taking Titus along with me. I went up by revelation

and I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles

privately before those of repute lest somehow I should be running or had run in vain.

3 But even Titus, who was with me, was not compelled to be circumcised, though he was a Greek.

4 But because of false brethren secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy out our freedom, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage, to them we did not yield submission even for a moment, that the truth of the gospel might be preserved for you.

6 And from those who were reputed to be something, what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality - those, I say, who were of repute added nothing to me;

7 But on the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised just as Peter had been entrusted
8 with the gospel to the circumcised, for he who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me also for the Gentiles,

9 and when they perceived the grace that was given to me James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised; only they would have us remember the poor, which very thing I was eager to do.



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Gal. 2:11-14

- 11 But when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face
12 because he stood condemned. For before certain men came
from James, he ate with the Gentiles

but when they came he drew back and separated himself
fearing the circumcision party

and acting hypocritically with him were

also the rest of the Jews

so that even Barnabas

was carried away with them by their hypocrisy.

- 14 But when I saw that they were not on the right road
toward the truth of the gospel

I said to Cephas in the face of them all, "If you, being
a Jew live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you
compel the Gentiles to live like Jews.

Gal. 2:15-17

- 15 We by nature are Jews and not Gentile sinners

- 16 and knowing that is not justified a man by works of law
except through faith of Jesus Christ even we in
Christ Jesus had faith

in order that we might be justified by faith of Christ
and not by works of law.

Because by works of law not will be justified all flesh.

- 17 But if seeking to be justified in Christ we were found also
ourselves sinners, then Christ of sin a minister? By no means.

Gal. 2:18-3:1

18 For if what things I destroyed these things again I build
I constitute myself a transgressor.

19 For I through law to law died in order that I might live
to God.

With Christ I have been co-crucified,

20 but I live no longer

but Christ lives in me,

but what now

I live

in flesh

in faith

I live

to that

of the Son

of God

of the one who is

loving me and

giving himself up for me.

21 I do not set aside the grace of God

for if through law righteousness then Christ
without cause died.

3:1 O foolish Galatians, who bewitched you, before whose eyes
Jesus Christ was placarded as having been crucified?

12. The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the plane was the cold air. It felt like a giant hand reaching out to grab me.

13. I had heard that the weather in the north was harsh, but I didn't realize it would be so cold. My hands were numb as I stepped out.

14. With that, I have been so comfortable.

15. But I don't know how long.

16. The weather was so cold.

17. But when you

18. I give

19. in the

20. in the

21. I give

22. at the

23. of the

24. at the

25. of the one who is

26. because he was

27. giving himself to the

28. I do not see the end of the

29. for if you are a Christian, you should

30. believe in the

31. A faithful Christian who believes in the resurrection of the dead will not be afraid of death. He will be confident that he will live again.

Gal. 3:2-5

2 This alone I wish to know from you:

did you receive the Spirit by works of the law or by hearing with faith?

3 Are you so foolish,

having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?

4 Did you experience so many things in vain? If it really is in vain.

5 Does He who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith?

Gal. 3:6-9

6 "Thus Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for justification;"

7 Know, then, that those out of faith, those are sons of Abraham.

8 Foreseeing the scripture that out of faith "would justify the nations;"

God

forpreached to Abraham that "will be blessed in you the nations;"

9 so as those out of faith are blessed with the faithful Abraham.

Gal. 3:10-13

10 For all who rely on works of the law are under a curse;
for it is written, "Cursed be everyone who does not abide by all things
written in the book of the law to do them.

11 Now it is evident that no man is justified before God by the law;
now "He who through faith is righteous shall live;"

12 but the law does not rest on faith,
for "He who does them shall live by them.

13 Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us,
for it is written, "Cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree."

Gal. 3:14

14 that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles
that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

Gal. 3:15-17

15 Brother, according to man I say

even though of a man
having been ratified
a covenant

no one sets it aside or makes addition.

16 Now to Abraham

were said the promises and to his seed.

It does not say: and to the seeds as of many but as of
one;

and to your seed,

who is Christ.

17 And this I say,

a covenant
having been preratified
by God

is not unratiified by the law which came into being after four hundred and
thirty years so as to make void the promise.

Gal. 3:18-21a

18 For if of law the inheritance, no longer of promise;

but to Abraham through promise has graced God.

19 Why then the law?

graced by transgressions it was added until the seed should come,
to whom it has been promised,

being ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator.

20 Now the mediator is not of one,

but God is one.

21a Then is the law

against the promises of God?

By no means. (For if a law was given able to make alive ...)

Gal. 3:21b-25

- 21b For if a law was given able to make alive, really out of law would have been justification;
- 22 but the scripture shut up all under sin
in order that the promise out of faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those believing.
- 23 but before the coming faith all were guarded under law being shut up until the approaching faith be revealed.
- 24 So the law has become our trainer to Christ, in order that out of faith we might be justified.
- 25 But the faith having come we are no longer under a trainer.

Gal. 3:26-29

- 26 For all sons of God you are through the faith in Christ Jesus;
for as many as into Christ you were baptized, Christ you put on.
- 28 There cannot be Jew nor Greek,
there cannot be slave nor free,
there cannot be male and female;
- For all you one you are in Christ Jesus.
- 29 but if you of Christ, then of Abraham a seed you are, according to promise heirs.

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Gal. 4:1-4a

- 1 But I say, over as long a time as the heir is an infant,
he differs in no way from a slave though he is lord of all
- 2 but he is under guardians and stewards until the term previously
appointed by the father.
- 3 So also we, where we were infants under the elements of the world
we were enslaved;
- 4a but when the fullness of time came,

Gal. 4:4b-6

- 4b God sent forth his Son,
becoming out of a woman
becoming under law
- 5 in order that the ones under law he might redeem,
in order that the adoption of sons we might receive. And because you
are sons
- 6 God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts crying "Abba, Father."

Gal. 4:7

- 7 So you are no longer a slave but a son, and if a son also an heir through
God.

8 But then, on the other hand, not knowing God you served those who by
9 nature were not gods; but now, knowing God, or rather being known by God,
10 how can you turn again to the weak and beggardly elementals whom you
11 again will to serve anew. Days you observe and months and seasons and
12 years. I fear for you lest somehow I have labored for you in vain.

12 Become as I, because I also as you, brothers, I beg you. In nothing
have you wronged me.

13 Of course you know that through weakness of flesh I preached to you
14 at first. And your trial in my flesh you did not despise nor spit out,

but as an angel of God

you received me

as Christ Jesus.

15 Where, then, is your blessedness? For I witness to you that if
possible you would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me.

16 So, I have become your enemy having spoken the truth to you.

17 They are zealous for you in a way that is not good, but they will to
shut you out in order that you may be zealous for them. Of course it
18 is good to be zealous for good things always and not only when I am
19 present to you. My children, I am again in travail over you until
20 Christ is formed in you. I wish to be present to you right now and to
change my tone because I am perplexed about you.

Gal. 4:21-31

21 Tell me, those under the law choosing to be, the law do you not hear?
22 For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one from the maidservant
and one from the freewoman.

23 But on the one hand the one from the maidservant is born according to the
flesh, on the other, the one from the freewoman is through promise.

24 These are allegorical, for they are two covenants,

on the one hand one is from Mount Sinai
giving birth into slavery
which is Hagar.

25 And the Hagar-Sinai mount is in Arabia
corresponding to the now Jerusalem,
for she slaves with her children.

26 on the other hand the above Jerusalem
is a freewoman
which is our mother;

27 For it is written: "Rejoice, o barren one who does not bear. Break forth
and shout, you who are not in travail; because the desolate has more
children than she who has a man."

28 You brothers are, according to Isaac, children of promise. But even
29 as then the one born according to the flesh persecutes the one
according to the Spirit even as now.

30 But what says the writings? "Throw out the maidservant and her son; for
the son of the maidservant shall not inherit with the son of the freewoman."
31 It follows, brothers, that we are not children of the maidservant but of
the freewoman.

- 1 For freedom us Christ freed; stand firm therefore and do not again with a yoke of slavery be entangled.
- 2 Behold, I Paul say to you that if you are circumcised Christ will owe you nothing.
- 3 And I testify again to every man being circumcised that an over he is the whole law to do.
- 4 You are made void from Christ you who by the law are justified, from grace you have fallen.
- 5 For we by Spirit out of faith hope of justification eagerly
- 6 await. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision avails anything nor uncircumcision but faith working through love.
- 7 You were running well. Who cut in on you that you are not persuaded
- 8 by truth? This persuasion is not from the one calling you.
- 9 A little leaven the whole lump leavens. I trust you in the Lord
- 10 that you will think nothing otherwise, but the one troubling you shall bear the judgment, whoever he is.
- 11 But brothers, if I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?
- 12 The scandal of the cross would then be made void. I would that the ones unsettling you would cut themselves off.
- 13 For you were called into freedom, brothers; only not the freedom for opportunity to the flesh, but through love serve as slaves one another.

Gal. 5:14-6:2

14 For all the law in one word has been summed up. "You shall love your neighbor as yourself.

15 But if one another you bite and devour, see lest by one another you are destroyed.

16 Now I say, in Spirit walk and the desire of flesh by no means end up.

17 For the flesh desires against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh, for these oppose each other lest whatever things you will these you do.

18 But if by the Spirit you are led you are not under the law.

19 Now the works of the flesh are manifest: these are
immorality, impurity, licentiousness, idol-worship,
20 sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness,
21 dissension, party spirit, envy, drunkenness, carousing,
and the like. I warn you, as I warned you before, that
those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom
of God.

22 But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience,
23 kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control;

Against such as these there is no law.

24 Those of Christ crucify the flesh with its passions and desires.

25 If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us be elementized.

26 Let us not become vainglorious, provoking one another, envying one another.

6:1 Brothers, if indeed a man is overtaken in some trespass, you the spiritual restore such a one in a spirit of meekness, considering
2 yourself lest you also are tempted. Bear the loads of one another and you will thus fulfill the law of Christ.

Gal. 6:3-17

3 For if anyone thinks himself to be something nothing being, he deceives
4 himself; but let each one test his own work and then in himself alone
5 will he have the boast and not in the other; for each one will bear his
own load.

6 But let the one share who is being catechized the word with the
catechizer in all good things.

7 Be not led astray, God is not mocked; for whatever sows a man this
also he will reap;

8 because the sower to the flesh from the flesh reaps corruption,
but the sower to the Spirit reaps life eternal.

9 But in doing good let us not be remiss, for in proper time we
shall reap not failing.

10 So, therefore, as time we have, let us work good toward all, and
most of all toward the household of the faith.

11 Behold, in large letters to you I write in my hand.

12 As many as

will to face well in flesh
these compel you to be circumcised
only in order that for the cross of Christ not they are per-
13 For not the circumcised themselves the law keep
but

will
you to be circumcised
in order that in your flesh they may boast

14 But for me let it not happen to boast except
in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ through
whom to me the world crucified and I to the world.

15 For not circumcision anything is nor uncircumcision
but a new creation.

16 As many as

This canon will be grounded in, peace upon you and mercy, and upon the
Israel of God.

17 Of the rest, let no one cause me troubles; for I bear the brands of Jesus
in my body.

law makes on
conscious of the self.
& self-identity

aspection

(also ? circumvention)

visualism

pneuma
makes one
conscious of God

personification

~~(audience)~~
participation

dynamism &
synthesis

authority of the written word of the Bible
i.e. Bibliolatry. sola scriptura

oral ontology

(167)

vs.

Spirit of God has ceased to move since
the writing down of Scripture.

P.168 un-image-able-ness of God

P.169 enthusiasm
radical enthusiasm, sexual libertinism
social deviation.

death, suffering, marriage, work

Scriptural base for passion narrative

(194) Replacement ~~for~~ of Kham Haggadah for Jewish Jesus is anti hero

~~Similar to fight in Johannine~~
Ornastic appropriation
of sayings

Q present authority of Jesus

Danger of the spirit in the present and obviously Thessalonians brings to mind the danger (as does, by the way, MCC!)

(209) Orientation from traditional oral authorities & reoriented to Jesus

(21) Reconstruction by Mark is Jesus' past

(22) loss of temple, loss of center

Invocation

Dinner

Presentation of Awards by:

Ron Hunt

temple
jews

Jesus' death $\Rightarrow$ death of temple
failure of resurrection message

vs.
Pauline meeting in the ruins X.

If it does not contain a passion narrative, & if we continue to presume that Q is the earliest "sayings" source, then Mark may well have had a parabolic reason for a death narrative, particularly for the 3 deaths - X - the temple & the disciples' denial. (or fading away).

Heroic
polarization > stories

Didactic stories

(194) Rite precedes the liturgy that goes with it. (myth)

Passover $\rightarrow$ Haggadah $\rightarrow$ Redemption Narrative

Pass to Composition

Parable Stories -

Heavily-laden type figures + agon

Casualistic Didactic Stories

Parabolic Stories

Metaphorical quality

Wicked tenants

Son - Jesus

True Servant - John^B

Tenants - temple authorities

Vineyard - temple

Shessel: Itinerant radicalism (Mat 8:20) (Luk 9:58)
Leaving mother/father, wife/children, abandoning
home, property, wealth, why were they
believed. Rang true for the people.
Only on the periphery of society does this
ethos have a chance of surviving:
itinerant prophets, homelessness, ^{charismatic}
loyal followers of Jesus. Suspects,
beggars & vagabonds, hungry & thirsty,
enduring loneliness & persecution.
Lived the message they preached, &
those to whom they preached it
recognized it - it was true to their
lives, as well.

Jesus sayings also abided speech forms
alliteration, paronomasia, appositional
equivallence, proverbs & aphorisms,
contrasts & antitheses, synonyms,
parallels, etc.

Oral thinking consists in formal patterns.
(3 point papist sermon.)

Growth & loss, expansion & compression, stock
features, substitution of themes, sequence
changes, adoption of features from unrelated
materials, various compositions.

Each performance is original. One can
never really preach the same sermon twice.

Code word "legion"!

1. Who would supply paper? Make paper?
In rural area?
2. Ink - powder? berry juice? blood?
3. How carry? ? pockets little baskets
4. Travel all day - how see to write at night?
Who will carry the lamp?

Let's make "happy"!

1. Let's make happy again: make happy
2. Let's make happy again: make happy

3. Let's make happy again: make happy

4. Let's make happy again: make happy

5. Let's make happy again: make happy
6. Let's make happy again: make happy

but does tend to become more "mythic"
i.e. to take on and be shaped by
the motifs and characters predominant
in that folk's already existent literature.

Merkaissos - Tannaic & Amaraic periods
oral law into Mishna Mishna to 5th Cent

affirmation of an essential similarity
between Rabbinic & Hrian transmission process.

Professional Educational Liturgical

Christianity, not that established at that time.

^{written notes}
hypomnemata apomnemonemata
"memory joggers"

Who are Matthew, Mark, Luke, & John??

arranging material by association -
linkages.

Disappearance of tradition - when no
longer meaningful fade away.

What was the ^{2nd} century
available before the
discovery?? Not much

Don

we

*
Yeshu = liberator
literally one
who redeems
from slavery.

Oral transmission - orally pleasurable & retrievable - what is remembered is what is necessary for present life.

Everything written is transmissible (even what was better forgotten or changed by lack of utility.)

What is written takes on special "haliness" - cannot be changed.

Jesus movement rural, illiterate
anti-Hellenistic

SDA Sometimes don't have writings of founders - sometimes do - to the embarrassment of the believers.

Oral speech is socialized. Honor the life world of people as well. Oral transmission is deficient unless it embraces the social dimension.

(We preach differently, for example, for 8 than we do for 800.)

If responsive chord struck - passed on but usually in attenuated form, i.e. as sayings. Or if odd in some way, i.e. disorienting!

Bultmann: Communal settings leave a distinct imprint on language and language behaves predictably in response to social settings. (so, by the way, does belief and faith structure).
Communally shaped + shared folk traditions

Question whether gospels ever came from "the folk".

"Proclaimer became the proclaimed".

"a coherent presentation of the life of Jesus based on the ~~extant~~ existent tradition of separate + small collections was bound to come.?" (who is Jesus?)

Theological motivation - Hellenistic Christianity.
Christ myth + Palestinian Jesus.

"Mark editorial rather than authorial" refrained from exercising major redactional influences on the transmitted material.

Helber: Wasn't this, in itself novel?"?

P. 6 - 2nd TT. Imperceptible + 5 measurable complication.

P. 7 # 2 - Folk literature contracts are items are lost - not generally expands -

Fellowship superseded the law.

Myth contains Jesus of history.

Commonwealth getting down a list of
things to do. The first one is to
get the people to stop smoking.
The second is to get the people to
stop drinking. The third is to
get the people to stop gambling.

But the people are not doing
any of these things. The people
are still smoking, drinking, and
gambling. The people are still
not doing any of these things.

The people are still not doing
any of these things. The people
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gambling. The people are still
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6 SAINT PAUL

In God's providential design Saul the Pharisee became Paul the Apostle through the direct intervention of the risen and glorified Christ. St. Paul's conversion, dating from a few years after Christ's Ascension, and his apostolic career of about thirty years, coincide with the formative years of the Christian community, as well as the formation of its oral and written message. In fact, the earliest Christian writings are the epistles of St. Paul.

So comprehensive are St. Paul's epistles, so pervaded with both Jewish and Hellenistic thought, so deep and thorough in their grasp of the cosmic implications of the Christian message, that rationalist scholars have doubted that one man could have written them all. Father Barnabas Mary Ahern discusses this problem in the first article of this section.

But the man who was a "Hebrew of Hebrews, as regards the Law, a Pharisee" (Phil. 3:5), and at the same time the Apostle of the Gentiles, who became all things to all men that he might save all (1 Cor. 9:22) convinces by the fiery intensity of his message, by the coherence and apostolic authenticity of his doctrine, that he was the divinely appointed witness to the Gentiles, that he did in three decades herald the good news of salvation from one end of the Mediterranean world to the other.

No problem of an individual was too small to merit his attention; no doctrinal problem too large for him to show how it is subsumed in the all-embracing "mystery of the mystery hidden from eternity in God" but now "revealed through his apostles and prophets" (Eph. 3:9, 5). Although St. Paul speaks of "my gospel" (Rom. 2:16; 16:25), it is clear that what he preaches is the gospel "which I also

ceived" (1 Cor. 15:3), that is, the teaching of the church of Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18-19). Yet the primitive apostolic preaching received in St. Paul's epistles a depth and flexibility which adapted it to the demands of a complex Greco-Roman world.

Although St. Paul does not dwell on the incidents of Christ's life and earthly ministry, he shows an intense awareness of what His life, death, and glorious resurrection mean to the individual, to the community of Christians, to the whole human race, to Jew as well as Gentile, to angelic and demonic powers, even to inanimate nature. He is truly the first great theologian of the Church.

The writings of St. Paul, with their subtlety and intensity, as well as their difficulty, have given rise to innumerable controversies, but they also have brought in every century new insights into the relevance of the Christian message for that age. In our own day innumerable studies, scholarly and popular,¹ have drawn from the writings of St. Paul a new understanding of the Church, the Christian message, and the redemption of the whole universe. The following articles present a few of the fruits of scholarly investigations, and they indicate what a harvest our age is reaping from the study of St. Paul.

¹ See David M. Stanley, *Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1961). Amédée Brunot, *Saint Paul and His Message* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1959). Lucien Cerfaux, *Christ in the Theology of Saint Paul and The Church in the Theology of Saint Paul* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1959). Francois Amiot, *The Key Concepts of Saint Paul* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1962).

WHO WROTE THE PAULINE EPISTLES?

Barnabas M. Ahern, C.

A short time ago the international press carried the news story of an interesting venture. An English minister had used an I.B.M. machine to determine how many letters ascribed to St. Paul were actually written by him. Feeding an epistle after epistle into the mechanical device, the investigator computed with mathematical exactness the similarities and differences of vocabulary, the recurrence of words and word groupings.

The results were both interesting and valuable. This exact measurement of the Pauline vocabulary provides a mechanically flawless analysis of the epistles' verbal content which will prove of service to all future scholars. For the investigator himself the results of his study à la I.B.M. were definitive. He found in this exact computation convincing proof that Paul was the actual author of very few of the epistles bearing his name.

Deficiencies of mechanical computation

Though this ingenious research caused a flurry in the press, it passed almost unnoticed by scholars. Denial of Pauline authenticity is never a cause for surprise. From the very beginning, men doubted that the Apostle had written the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the nineteenth century the Tübingen school denied his authorship of all letters except the Great Epistles (Romans, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians). In our own day, though there has been a swing back from the radical thesis of Baur and the scholars of Tübingen, many are still reluctant to list the Epistle to the Ephesians and the pastoral epistles among Paul's authentic epistles.

The debate will continue. We have emerged from the tensions of the early twentieth century when the Biblical Commission had to view the literary authorship of the New Testament writings as a doctrinal question. Provided a New Testament book is recognized as truly inspired by God and is accepted as a genuine emergent of first-century Christianity, its actual authorship is a matter of free debate according to the norms of improved methods of criticism, historical, literary and textual. The attitude of modern scholars to the question of biblical authorship is that of St. Augustine: "It matters not who wrote the book of Job, so long as we recognize that God is its author."

There is another reason why the results of the I.B.M. study caused little stir in scholarly circles. It is obvious that conclusions based merely on a mechanical study of vocabulary cannot be definitive. A machine cannot think. It cannot take into account the many factors which must be kept in mind in dealing with the delicate question of an ancient book's provenance. Multiple

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elements in the book's composition would radically alter its literary style and would thus effectively counterbalance the results of verbal computation. The use of secretaries, the incorporation of previously written or oral material, changing historical situations, psychological and doctrinal development in the writer himself, new problems and a new milieu, association with writers and speakers using a hitherto unfamiliar style—all these factors show how precipitate is a definitive conclusion based on verbal study alone.

Definition of Pauline authorship

The investigation of literary authorship is, therefore, a complex problem, so complex that some feel it is an idle pursuit. The fact is, however, that an author's identification, though adding nothing to the inspiration of a sacred book, is of inestimable help in the historical study of early Christianity. Hence it is worthwhile to know the norms which students of St. Paul generally use to ascertain the number of epistles actually written by him.

First of all, we must define the meaning of literary authorship. This does not require that Paul should have written the letter with his own pen. As explained in an earlier number of *The Bible Today*, scribal composition in ancient times was the task of an amanuensis. Instinctively one conjures up the image of impetuous Paul pacing a room and pouring out a flood of words which his secretary faithfully copies. Some of these copyists, like the more able secretaries of our own day, would have handled the dictation with a certain liberty, correcting and rewording it to produce a more fluent and readable manuscript. The fact that Paul used a scribe is proven by the common practice of his day and by evidence in the epistles themselves (cf. Rom. 16: 22; 1 Cor. 16:21; Col. 4:18; 2 Thess. 3:17). Whether these scribes were mere copyists or careful editors of Paul's dictation, he himself is to be considered the true literary author of the emergent letter.

Such literary authorship cannot be ascribed to him in those other instances which could and probably did occur. In our own day an expert secretary, acting as executive assistant, may write a whole letter from the few thoughts suggested by his or her employer. Reading what has been written, the employer finds his own thoughts expressed far better than he himself could have expressed them; he signs the letter and sends it out as his own. Paul was free to do the same; the striking differences in the literary composition of Colossians and Ephesians suggest to some that he actually used this liberty. The approval of such a letter, however, would not suffice to make Paul the literary author of the composition.

Another distinct possibility is the phenomenon which appears already in the book of Isaiah. A later disciple familiar with the thoughts of the great Apostle might set these forth in a letter written in the literary style and thought-patterns of his own making. Most scholars think that the Epistle to the Hebrews is a work of this kind. Because this letter draws inspiration from the Apostle's themes, it was long considered a unit of the Pauline corpus, just as the composition of Isaiah's disciples (Is. 40-66) was included as

part of the prophecy of Isaiah. In this case, however, Paul is not the literary author of the epistle.

When, therefore, scholars study the question of scriptural authorship, they understand the term in its restricted sense. They seek to discover what epistles are the authentic literary composition of Paul, the transcript of his dictation, whether slavishly copied by an amanuensis or freely edited by a competent secretary. Their aim is to sort out the letters in which Paul himself speaks and the letters in which a ghost writer or a later disciple develops in personal composition the themes which were dear to the Apostle.¹

Norms for investigating authorship

Today it is obvious that there is no external norm to guide this investigation. The long-standing tradition that Paul is the author of all fourteen epistles has no dogmatic value; it is merely a historical tradition which labor under the weakness of its origin. In the early ages of Christianity, when the world knew nothing of modern scientific precision, the term "author" was ambiguous. It could refer both to the man who actually wrote a book and also to the one who merely sponsored it. Moreover, pseudonymous writing was in vogue. To gain acceptance for his work, a literary author found it convenient to inscribe his book with the name of a more famous man, especially when its themes were closely associated with the great man's fame. With such circumstances surrounding its origin, our historical tradition on the Pauline authorship of the fourteen epistles is an uncertain guide in solving the modern question of strictly literary authorship.

Scholars are forced, therefore, to study the internal structure of the epistles in order to ascertain whether Paul himself wrote them. His name in the superscription of all the epistles except Hebrews is the first indication that he himself authored these letters. The accompanying names of co-workers strengthen this indication, since there would be no need for this insertion if the letters were merely pseudonymous. The fact is, however, that the names of co-workers are omitted both in the suspect pastoral letters and Ephesians and also in the widely accepted letters to the Romans and Galatians. We may say, then, that Paul's name in the superscription is an invitation to begin investigation. It is like a bare mound in the land of Palestine which piques the curiosity of the archeologist and fires him with hope that excavation will uncover the tell of an ancient biblical site.

Doctrinal content as a test of authorship

The doctrine of an epistle is always its best part. In the question of authorship, however, doctrine is only of secondary importance. The divergent doctrinal emphases which separate 1-2 Thessalonians from Colossians are n

¹ The limitation of space does not permit the discussion in this article of the allied question of integrity, i.e., whether each epistle was written as a unified draft or is a collation of several distinct letters. Many scholars think that Romans, 1-2 Corinthians, and Philippians are a collation of separate letters.

a real argument for diverse authorship. The differences are just as easily explained by the development of Paul's insights. The fact must also be taken into account that in each of his letters he treated those doctrines which best suited the needs of his readers. On the other hand, similarity in doctrine, as in Ephesians and Colossians or in Romans and Galatians, can never be regarded as final proof of identical authorship. A disciple could easily have shared Paul's thoughts and expressed them with the very emphases which the Apostle himself employed. The argument from doctrine, therefore, is valid only when authenticity is supported by other reasons.

When, however, the doctrine of an epistle deals with a situation outside the time and milieu of the Apostle, who died in 67 A. D., this factor creates real doubts about Pauline authorship. Some scholars, therefore, have denied that Paul wrote the pastoral letters on the score that these letters deal with Church institutions which they think arose only after Paul's death.

Identity tags

It is really the less important elements of an epistle which provide the best clues in solving the problem of authenticity. First among these are revealing details which would hardly find place in a letter unless Paul himself put them there. A pseudonymous writer of Romans would hardly have wasted almost an entire chapter of his epistle (ch. 16) in listing "all the uncles, and the cousins, and the aunts," with pithy greetings to each. This long list of salutations would be meaningful only to those for whom a loving Paul intended this personal remembrance. So, too, the unprecedented inclusion of "bishops and deacons" in the opening salutation of Philippians is difficult to explain except as Paul's graceful way of saying "thank you" to those leaders of the church at Philippi who had authorized the gifts which he greatly appreciated (Phil. 4:16-19). There is also the signature in Paul's own hand at the close of 2 Thessalonians, with the word of warning, "Thus I write" (3:6). This safeguard against forged letters (repeated in 1 Corinthians 16:21) would hardly find place in a letter written by someone else.

Historical content as a norm

The numerous historical allusions in the Pauline letters are invaluable arguments for proving the Apostle's authorship. The pointedness of these references gives to his letters a historical verisimilitude which would be difficult for anyone but himself to inject. Though it is true that the incidents described or mentioned do not always fit four-square into the historical framework of the Acts of the Apostles, this divergence is easily explained. Luke, as a historian, has a broad canvas to cover; as a sacred historian developing the theme of Christian progress, he writes with a tendentious style and with a freedom to abbreviate and telescope. Paul, on the other hand, uses historical fact as a personal memory to sharpen the doctrinal or apologetic theme which he develops. Hence he is not bound by the perspectives of historical context; if he cites facts or recalls memories he marshals them in line with the theme of his own letter. The divergence between the Lucan narrative in Acts

and the corresponding material in Galatians is simply the difference which will always exist between accounts written from a different point of view.

The fact is that history as narrated in Paul's letters is handled so personally by the author that only he who played an intimate role in this history and who now utilizes it for his personal purposes could have composed these portions of the Pauline epistles. This is especially true in the heated argumentation and uniquely personal polemic of Galatians and 2 Corinthians. These letters have their only *raison d'être* as a *moi et toi* dialogue between the founder of a church and his wayward converts. The historical facts with which the author lashes the Galatians are presented with such practical, personal pointedness that they stand out as incidents which only one man could have used in this way — Paul, the founder of the Galatian church, who must now defend his apostleship and his doctrine. In 2 Corinthians it is the same. The writer has his eye on his immediate audience; they have questioned the sincerity and authority of the man who taught them the faith. His epistle to them is so patently a direct answer of a father to the criticisms of his children that the letter loses meaning unless it is seen as a response of the founder of the church at Corinth to the difficulties which had arisen there.

The very framework of 1 Corinthians is built around a series of problems in the Corinthian church: its breakdown in Christian spirit, its moral lapses, its doctrinal queries. Whatever unity is to be found in the letter comes from the author's intention to right a general situation which threatened to go wrong. Only Paul, the founder and father of the church at Corinth, could have dealt so directly, so personally and so authoritatively with these problems. No executive secretary, acting as a ghost writer, could have composed an epistle which evidences such complete familiarity with the soul of Paul, the status of his converts, and their mutual relations. The allusions to historical incidents and situations, and the directness with which the author handles these in this epistle, as also in Galatians, 2 Corinthians, 1-2 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Colossians, are difficult to explain except as the authentic cachet of Pauline authorship.

Literary style as a norm; its weaknesses

This historical verisimilitude provides the best argument for the authenticity of most of the letters ascribed to Paul. Because of the force of this argument no one has seriously questioned the Pauline authorship of Galatians or 1-2 Corinthians. Many scholars are convinced that the same reason guarantees the authenticity of 1-2 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Colossians. These conclusions, however, must be tested by yet another norm, the literary criterion. Once a man is identified as the author of several epistles it is to be expected that each of his compositions should show signs of the same literary style.

Some scholars rank this norm as first in importance. Our English investigators, in fact, would reach definitive conclusions solely from his I.B.M. computation of words and word groupings. This preference of the literary criterion to the historical is not warranted. The style and vocabulary of the sepa-

rate epistles may be the only determinant of authorship in epistles like Ephesians, which shows no historical identity tag. But in letters where the author is involved in a revealing historical situation, the argument from style of writing remains secondary. The argument may corroborate conclusions drawn from history or it may raise doubts. In this latter case, however, the burden of proof rests on the literary critic who would question results based on the historical content of the text.

The reason for this secondary importance of literary norms is obvious. The treatment of different situations and doctrines will inevitably alter an author's vocabulary. Paul, in dealing with the doubts and fears of the Thessalonians about the parousia, will use different words and concepts than when he deals with the problem of nascent Jewish Gnosticism in his letter to the Colossians. The influence of a secretary also has to be taken into account, since he probably was free to correct the language of Paul's dictation and to rephrase it. There is the further fact that every writer, with new experiences and new contacts, tends to change his style, forsaking old ways of expression and old forms of argumentation for new ones. Hence, a mere change of vocabulary and literary style does not conclusively prove that someone besides Paul originally dictated the letter ascribed to him.

Literary style as a norm: its strength

The literary argument, however, can throw strong doubts on Pauline authorship, especially when the letter itself shows no compelling historical reason why it must be attributed to Paul. The fact that the vocabulary of the pastoral epistles differs greatly from the vocabulary of the generally accepted Pauline letters strengthens the doubts which have already arisen in the minds of some who identify the historical milieu of these letters as late in the first century. So, too, the vocabulary and style of Ephesians are for some a weighty argument against Pauline authorship, since this encyclical letter lacks the counter-balance of significant historical allusion.

On the other hand, the literary argument has strong corroborative value when used to strengthen positions already stabilized by historical reasons. In the generally accepted Pauline letters (1-2 Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, 1-2 Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon) commentators consistently point out elements of literary style which they characterize as typical of Paul. It may be of interest to note some of these.

1. *Paul's use of Scripture.* The Apostle shows a great liberty in his use of the Old Testament. Most often he cites no more than a single verse verbatim. If he delays over scriptural teaching, as in his study of Abraham (Rom. 4), he freely reconstructs the biblical background to drive home his own point of doctrine. In Galatians 4:21-28 he allegorizes the theme of Sarah and Hagar. Such extensive use of Scripture, however, is rare. One of the strongest arguments, therefore, against Paul's authorship of Hebrews is its strikingly diverse use of Scripture.

2. *Imagery in Paul.* Almost all of Paul's comparisons and figures are drawn from the milieu of a city-dweller. He does speak of the "seed" of resurrec-

tion (cf. 1 Cor. 15:35-44) and introduces the olive tree theme in Romans 11:16-24; but his other comparisons are almost all taken from urban life.

3. *Sentence structure.* Time and again the Pauline epistles show the abruptness of oral style. Sentences are left half-finished and are often marred by grammatical error. In such anacolutha, the errors of extemporaneous style, the impetuous flow of oral dictation breaks through.

4. *Thought structure.* This same oral character of the Pauline letters accounts for a certain looseness of construction in developing themes and in tying thoughts together. Paul often interjects a question or formulates an objection to anticipate the mind of his readers. This severs the coherent flow of thought, even though it helps to move the theme forward. Paul writes as one would speak, thus providing another proof that the letters ascribed to him were a transcript of his dictation.

5. *Thought-binders.* The epistles often show, especially in their doctrinal portions, a device of style which Père Lyonnet has called "*pierres d'attente*" (foundation stones for later building). In the earlier part of an epistle Paul anticipates with a phrase or sentence the theme which he will later develop at length. These elements bind the whole treatment into unity and show that the author knew from the beginning of his letter the general course of its development.

6. *Recurring phrases.* The authentic epistles of Paul are also marked by phrases which are often repeated. Some are merely literary expressions, like his *mé genoito* ("far from it!"). Others are richly doctrinal, like his phrase "in Christ Jesus."

Conclusion

For these reasons the majority of scholars are now convinced that the greater number of epistles attributed to Paul were actually written by him. Few hold the authenticity of Hebrews; the authorship of Ephesians and the pastoral letters is still under debate. Likely the debate will continue for a long time.

THE BLOOD OF CHRIST IN ST. PAUL'S SOTERIOLOGY

Edward F. Siegman, C.Pp., S.

When we trace the process of redemption in theology today, we begin with the role of Christ (objective redemption), especially His passion and death.

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Only in recent decades have we begun to take into consideration the Savior's resurrection as an integral part of the redemptive work. Even today thought habits of long standing may account for our passing immediately from the death of Christ to its efficacy in the individual (subjective redemption) through the use of the channels of grace by the individual. To appreciate what St. Paul writes about the saving work of Christ, we must be careful to insert the resurrection into the framework of objective redemption and faith into subjective redemption. Moreover, if we advert to the chronological succession of these aspects of the mystery in the Apostle's awareness (and, to a certain extent, in the consciousness of the primitive Church) we can more readily explain his emphasis upon Christ's resurrection. This, in turn, is necessary to evaluate the role that he assigns to the Blood of the Redeemer in effecting our salvation.

The Resurrection of Christ

St. Paul's first contact with Jesus was not, like the other Apostles', with the meek and humble Galilean teacher who went about heralding the reign of God and healing men's ills; with the Master who ate and drank with His disciples, who became tired and needed rest and sleep; in short, with the Christ who was like us in all things, sin excepted. It was the glorified Savior on the road to Damascus, the "Son of God in power" (Rom. 1:4), who made the unwilling Paul experience "the power of His resurrection" (Phil. 3:10). So shattering was this power that it made Paul not only a Christian, but also an Apostle, who, though "born out of due time" (1 Cor. 15:8), labored more than the rest because the impelling love of Christ for him left him no alternative (2 Cor. 5:14).

When he wrote 1 Cor. two decades later, he asserted with unmistakable force the salvific power of Christ's resurrection; no resurrection, no redemption, he insists. "If Christ has not risen, then our preaching has been baseless, and your faith also is baseless . . . if Christ has not risen, your faith is ineffectual, you are still in your sins" (15:14, 17). Edgar J. Goodspeed, in the American Translation published by the Chicago University Press, brings out the incisive vigor of the Apostle's statement thus: ". . . if Christ was not raised, there is nothing to our message; there is nothing to our faith either, . . . your faith is a delusion." In Rom. 4:24, 25 he borrows the language of an early baptismal profession of faith when he ascribes redemption to Jesus' death and resurrection as to a single integral action: "(Jesus) . . . was delivered up for our sins, and rose again for our justification." The Angelic Doctor caught the implications of the Hebrew parallelism and explained: "The passion and the resurrection of Christ are the cause of our justification in both its aspects," i.e., remission of sins (negative aspect) as well as infusion of grace (positive aspect) (ST III, q. 56, a. 2, ad 4). Occasionally only the resurrection is mentioned, e.g., in 1 Thess. 1:10, when he reminds his converts of the basic points of doctrine in which he had instructed them:

they "await from heaven Jesus, his (the Father's) Son, whom he raised from the dead, our deliverer from the wrath to come."

This was Paul's faith as it grew out of his initial total surrender to the risen Lord. Obedient to the command to continue on into the city of Damascus where further instructions would be given him, the blinded "chosen instrument" was led by the hand to Ananias for baptism. Ananias explained how this sacrament would enable Paul to die with Christ and rise again, sharing in the Savior's glorious divine life; how by immersion in the baptismal waters he would be cleansed of sin and by emerging from them participate in the life of grace, as we now call it, so that henceforth he would be "in Christ." In Rom. 6:2-5 Paul reminded the Christians of the capital of the Empire of this great experience in words that he must have repeated again and again to his thousands of converts: "How can we who are dead with respect to sin live in sin any longer? You know well enough that all we who have been baptized into Christ Jesus have been baptized into his death. We were, in fact, buried with him by means of baptism into death, in order that just as Christ has risen from the dead to mediate the Father's glory to us, so we also must live and act in the newness that is (divine) life. Since we have been united with him in the likeness of his death, we must remain united with him also in the likeness of his resurrection."

The Diaspora Jew and the Greek Old Testament

This was Paul's experience of justification, as he often called the process of redemption, especially in its subjective aspect. But the Damascus vision, the instruction received from Ananias, and his baptism were only the beginning. Soon after baptism he must have assisted at the liturgical meeting of the Christians of Damascus and partaken of the Lord's Supper. On this and subsequent occasions when he participated in the liturgy, he listened to the Scriptures being read. How familiar the words were! Paul knew them practically by heart, but the very first time he listened to them in the Christian *ekklesia* and heard them explained in the light of their fulfillment in Christ, he realized that all his life, as a Jewish student and later as a rabbi candidate, he had not really understood them. His condition was that which he described of his countrymen in 2 Cor. 3:14: ". . . their minds were darkened for to this day, when the Old Testament is read, this same veil remains, for it is only Christ who can remove it." Various charismatics were present, i.e., Christians endowed with special gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially prophets and teachers, who preached, explained the Old Testament christologically and catechized. Disciples who had listened to Our Lord and witnessed His miracles held the assembled Christians spellbound with their recital of all that they recalled. Especially would the story of Our Lord's passion and death as it followed the institution of the Eucharist move the hearers and inspire them, though most of them had heard it over and over again. By this time it had become stereotyped and had the form that we find in the synoptic gospels. No one, however, listened more attentively and with greater love and

fervor than the former persecutor, the young rabbi who had sat at the feet of the famous Gamaliel, the Pharisee who had been a fanatic before he became the slave of Christ.

Until now the *Torah*, the Law (the Pentateuch as explained by the rabbis) had been his very life. By it he had hoped to obtain his salvation. More than once he must have had serious doubts about the sufficiency of this Law; that may account for the fierceness with which he tried to destroy those who said openly that the Law was now fulfilled in Christ and no longer had binding force. But now that he had been vanquished by the despised Galilean, now that he understood the profound mystery of Christ's death and resurrection, now that he had made these mysteries his own by baptism, his life was no longer the Law, but Christ. The vision of Christ on the cross was a picture that would never be effaced, it was his daily meditation, his hourly preoccupation: "With Christ I am nailed to the cross. It is now no longer I that live, but Christ lives in me. And the life that I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me" (Gal. 2: 20). Once having seen this by faith, Paul could not understand how anyone could still regard the Mosaic Law as necessary for salvation and minimize the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice, as long as he had the same experience of union with Christ that he had; only some species of black magic could therefore account for the deplorable return of the Galatian Christians to Jewish practices: "O senseless Galatians! who has bewitched you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ has been depicted crucified? . . . For if justice is by the Law, then Christ died in vain" (Gal. 3:1; 2:21).

During his long retreat in the Syro-Arabian desert, east of Damascus, Paul had ample time to meditate upon all that he had experienced and heard about the crucified Messiah whom he had seen in glory.¹ Paul wrote his letters in Greek, because he was above all the Apostle of the Gentiles. The Jewish members of the churches he established — all in the Diaspora — likewise knew Greek far better than Hebrew, if they knew Hebrew at all. We have no way of knowing to what extent Paul had been formally educated in Hellenistic culture. From his epistles a number of scholars are inclined to conclude that his formal non-Jewish education was minimal. Whatever Greek background that is found in his letters a man as alert and intelligent as Paul could easily have assimilated from his environment and numerous contacts.

In any case, Paul was a Jew. His book was the Old Testament, which he knew thoroughly in Hebrew as well as in the Greek translation used in the Diaspora, the Septuagint. His rabbinic training made him conversant with

¹ Gal. 1:17-18 states that Paul retired to Arabia shortly after his conversion, returned to Damascus, and then "after three years" went to Jerusalem. It is generally thought that by Arabia the Apostle meant the Nabatean Kingdom east and south of Palestine. Perhaps he lived in the Syro-Arabian Desert, or in some city like Petra. Three years, according to Hebrew calculation, could be three full years, or as little as one full year and parts of the preceding and following years. Paul's conversion took place c. 34-36 A.D. (few scholars place it earlier), the first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, c. 37-39.

the oral traditions of Israel's teachers and with their method of interpreting Scripture. As Paul reflected upon the truths which he had recently learned especially as he pondered deeply over the deeds of Our Lord, most of all His passion, death, and resurrection, he spontaneously, yet with ever deeper penetration, saw them as the fulfillment and perfection of what Yahweh had said and done through His prophets and other faithful mediators in the Old Testament. In other words, he constructed, step by step, his theology in the terms and thought-categories of the Bible. When he expressed this theology and explained it in Greek — generally piecemeal, as he dealt with particular situations, and not as a continuous development — he used the words as they were used in the Septuagint, and not, ordinarily, with the specific meaning that these terms might have in current writers with Greek background and culture.

Elementary as this principle is, its neglect has accounted for many a false interpretation of Paul's statements. To cite a few obvious examples relevant to the present topic: the Greek verb that we translate "justify" is often used by contemporary writers in a forensic sense of a sentence of acquittal, the external pronouncement that the person is innocent of the crime of which he is accused. Had St. Paul used the term in this way, he would mean by justification little more than an external imputation of innocence. The noun in Greek translated "justice" means the familiar virtue that prompts us to give everyone his due. If this is what Paul meant when he states that the justice of God was manifested in the redemptive death of Christ (Rom. 3:21, 25-26), then those exegetes are right who understand the Apostle to mean that God exacted condign satisfaction for sin. But in his theology of justice Paul by-passed both his rabbinic theology, which seemed to regard virtuous deeds as practically obliging God toward the doer, and Greek conception, and went back to the OT, especially Deutero-Isaiah, for whom justice is pre-eminently God's *saving* justice, a justice that guaranteed all the blessings He promised Israel in virtue of the covenant. Similarly, the verb "justify" "make just" means to give victory over enemies, to make pleasing to God, hence to cause one to pass from the condition of enmity to friendship with God, hence a real change in the justified person's internal state.

To us "redemption" suggests paying a ransom price; in this we are in line with the meaning of the Greek verb that "redeem" or "redemption" ordinarily translates. This Greek verb is derived from a noun meaning "ransom," the price paid to buy freedom for a slave or captive. But the Hebrew term which the Septuagint translated with this verb and related terms does not necessarily imply the payment of a purchase price. Its basic meaning is the intervention of Yahweh in carrying out the duties of the *go'el*, the nearest of kin, who, in Hebrew law, had obligations toward the persons and property of his relatives, such as blood vengeance, or securing their freedom if they were enslaved, or purchasing property which poverty may have forced the relatives to sell, in order that this endangered property might remain within the clan. The Hebrew was conscious of Yahweh's being his nearest relative

his blood-brother, his *go'el*, as a result of the Sinai Covenant. But when Yahweh intervened as *go'el*, he did so simply by an exercise of His irresistible power. Inconceivable that He should pay a ransom price to Pharaoh or to the King of Babylon!

The Greek noun which is often rendered "propitiation," e.g., by our CCD revision, suggests, when it is used of God, the pagan notion of placating an angered god by sacrifice or votive offerings. The Hebrew terms translated in the Septuagint by this Greek noun and related verb never have God as their object. The context makes clear in practically every case that there is simply question of removing disability, especially sin, by purification and thus making fit for reunion with God. Accordingly, in Rom. 3:25, when Paul states that God has "set forth Christ as a propitiation by his blood," he means that Christ's Blood was the means God used to purify us from sin and reunite us to Himself. There is no reason to believe that Paul thought of God's being appeased or placated by the Blood of His Son; *at-one-ment* in its etymological sense reproduces what Paul means far better than the word propitiation.

The life is (in) the blood

When Paul reflected that Jesus changed the wine into His own Blood at the Last Supper, that He shed it first when He was circumcised, and that beginning with the bloody sweat and continuing through the buffeting, the horrible scourging and crowning, the inhuman crucifixion, until finally the thrust of the soldier's spear drained it to the last drop, the Apostle recognized without difficulty the sacrificial value of the Blood, its power to purify from sin as well as to reconcile mankind to God. "There is no atonement except by blood," was a rabbinic axiom with which he was familiar. This rabbinic axiom developed the principle of Lev. 17:11: "Since the life of a living body is in its blood, I have made you put it on the altar, so that atonement may thereby be made for your own lives, because it is the blood, as the seat of life, that makes atonement." Paul could easily argue that the Blood of the God-Man is divine, infinite life, and hence when Christ poured it on the altar of the cross to give it to His Father, He effected what the blood of the OT sacrifices could only foreshadow: He purified mankind from sin and put them once more "at-one" with His Father from whom they had been wholly estranged.

At this point it must be emphasized that for the Hebrew blood did not signify death, but rather life. There is, moreover, no teaching in the OT that would have us regard the sacrificial victims as a substitute for the offerer, who might by vicarious substitution cause the victim to give its life for the life of the offerer, who had forfeited his life by sin. "I take no pleasure in the death of the wicked," Yahweh said through Ezekiel (33:11), "but rather in this, that the wicked man convert from his way and live." Similarly, the author of Wis. assures us that "God did not make death, nor does he rejoice in the destruction of the living" (1:13). The scapegoat, upon which the sins of the Israelites were laid through confession and imposition of the high

priest's hands, is no exception, since the goat was not sacrificed, it was sent into the desert, the supposed dwelling-place of demons, "to carry off the iniquities to an isolated region" (Lev. 16:22).

Preservation from harm in the case of the blood of the paschal lamb, purification from defilement in the case of most of the OT sacrifices, union with Yahweh by means of sharing in life in the case of practically all the sacrifices, especially the Covenant sacrifice of Sinai (Exod. 24:8) and the so called "peace offerings" ("communion sacrifices" is the more descriptive rendition) these were the functions of blood with which Paul was familiar, thanks to his OT and rabbinic background.

But how could the sacrificial shedding of the Savior's Blood be beneficial to us, if He was not our substitute, if vicarious satisfaction was not essential to the sacrificial theology of the OT? We may answer: not substitution, but a form of *identification* made possible the redemption of mankind by the sacrifice of Christ. The OT conception of *corporate personality* facilitated for the Hebrew theologian the transition from the act of Christ to its efficacy for the individual. The OT calls the father of the human race *Adam*, which means mankind, because he was mankind *in germine*. When Gn. speaks of Israel, of Moab, or Edom, it is not always easy to decide whether the individual meant or the clan that took its name from the respective eponymous ancestor. Again, the king is a corporate personality. In the desert, at the Sinai Covenant, the Hebrew people became Yahweh's special possession, a relationship so close that Yahweh calls the nation His son (Exod. 4:22; 19:5). Later on, when the tribes chose a king to rule and lead them in battle, the king was the corporate personality of the people, and as such he is called Yahweh's son, begotten, as it were, on the day of his enthronement (Ps. 2:7). Both the OT prophetic characters with whom Our Lord identified Himself in order gradually to reveal His messianic kingship, the Son of Man in Dan. 7, and the Suffering Servant of Yahweh (Is. 42:1-9; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12), were corporate personalities, i.e., both were individuals (the Messiah), yet described in such a way as to suggest that each stands for the people of God. Accordingly, Paul would reflect that when Christ suffered and died, when He shed His Blood in release of divine life, when He rose from the dead to return to the Father, we suffered and died with Him; we rose from the dead to return to the Father. This truth he formulates in so many words: "The love of Christ (for us) urges us on (in our apostolic labors), because we have come to the conclusion that, since One died for all, therefore all died; further, that Christ died for all, in order that they who are alive may live no longer for themselves, but for Him who died for them and rose again" (2 Cor. 5:14-15). Our oneness with Christ in His resurrection, implicit in the text just quoted, is spelled out in Eph. 2:4-6: "God, who is rich in mercy, by reason of His immense love for us, even when we were dead because of our sins, brought us to life together with Christ . . . and raised us up together, and seated us together in heaven in Christ Jesus. . . ."

What the OT worshipper expressed, therefore, when he placed his hand

on the sacrificial victim in order to identify himself with it, so that he might be one with the blood given to Yahweh, and further — in the case of the holocaust — ascend with the victim reduced to smoke even to the throne of Yahweh, this will-act of religion was finally “fulfilled,” “accomplished,” brought to full perfection and realization in the sacrifice of Christ. This conclusion underlies Paul’s references to the redemptive death of the Savior. The Son of God took on our human condition; He became solidary with us, so that He might return us to God, when He himself returned to the Father through the port of entry, death, which had become such ever since the first Adam’s sin. Mankind had to be returned to God because sin had estranged all men and made them enemies of God: the sin inherited from Adam, ratified by the personal sins of the individual (Rom. 5:12-14). But since sin is formally in the will, since it is rebellion against God and therefore aversion or hatred, Christ reversed this estrangement by perfect obedience and infinite love, expressed in His willingness to accept that which was most human in us, i.e., death, and further, a death unsurpassed in Jewish eyes for degradation and pain, crucifixion. In Christ, then, we like the Prodigal Son or the Lost Sheep were returned to the Father: we achieved what the OT worshipper could only vaguely desire, identification with his sacrifice as it was given to God.

These are the salient points in the rich theological background of Paul which will enable us to understand better his references to the Blood of the Savior in his epistles.

The Eucharist

St. Paul teaches that the Eucharist is the one supreme sacrifice of the New Covenant which fulfilled what the OT sacrifices prepared for; that it inaugurated the New Covenant by means of Christ’s Blood; and finally that it was a vivid foretaste of the heavenly banquet of beatific vision and union with Christ to be enjoyed at the Savior’s second coming. This does not mean that the Apostle’s comments on the Eucharist are his personal development, at least *in toto*. His allusions and references to this teaching are quite incidental and assume that the doctrine of the Eucharist is well-known and can serve as illustration for other points of doctrine; it is the sacred tradition handed down from the very beginning through the Apostles.

When he warned the Christians of Corinth against possible contamination by partaking of foods that had been offered in pagan temples (whenever this eating would really appear to be sacrificial), he appealed to the analogy of the Christian sacrifice in which is truly realized union with our God, Who is Christ: something which the pagan by his sacrifices hoped to attain, but all in vain, since his gods did not exist; instead, since the devils foster this worship, whatever union is effected is effected with the devils: “The cup of blessing that we consecrate, is it not the sharing of the blood of Christ? And the bread that we break, is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord? Consider Israel according to the flesh: are not they who eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar? I do not mean to imply that what is sacrificed to idols is any-

thing, or that an idol is anything. I say that what the Gentiles sacrifice, ‘they sacrifice to devils and not to God’; and I would not have you become associates of devils” (1 Cor. 10:16-20; cf. Deut. 32:17). How much more privileged than the Israelite is the Christian who may actually drink of the Blood of Christ, and thus be united with the Lord in intimacy undreamed of by the OT worshipper who (through the priest) poured the blood on the altar, or, at best, was sprinkled with it. This sacrifice is the New Passover, as the Apostle suggests when he calls the cup to be consecrated the “cup of blessing,” the name given in the Passover ritual to the third cup of wine drunk at the Paschal Supper, the cup most probably over which Our Lord pronounced the words of consecration.

Later on in the same epistle, in order to impress upon his readers the unseemliness of their conduct at the agape, the common meal which early Christians took before the celebration of the Eucharist in order to foster charity, Paul reminded them of the close connection between the two. Unbecoming and selfish behavior at the agape is an affront to Christ Himself, because it disregards the real presence and even more loses sight of the fact that the Eucharist is the re-enactment of His supreme sacrifice of love. Accordingly, Paul recalled the moving scene of the institution as he had received it from the sacred tradition which went back to Christ and as he in turn handed it on to the Corinthians when he first prepared them for participation in it: “. . . how the Lord Jesus, on the very night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and giving thanks, broke it and said: ‘This is my body which is (offered sacrificially) on your behalf; do this in remembrance of me.’ So also the cup, after he had eaten the (Paschal) supper, saying, ‘This cup is the new covenant in my blood; as often as you drink it, do this in remembrance of me. For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord, until he comes.’ Therefore whoever eats this bread or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily will be guilty of (an offense against) the body and the blood of the Lord” (1 Cor. 11:25-27).

Which formula of institution comes closer to that actually used by Our Lord, that given by St. Paul and St. Luke on the one hand, or that given by St. Mark? Mark’s wording is simpler, “This is my blood of the covenant” (14:24), and so there is a strong presumption for its originality. Some scholars, however, believe that the tradition given by Mark represents a simplification of what Our Lord said. In any case, both reproduce liturgical words as used in different parts of the early Church, and both express the identical thought. It is certain that Our Lord referred by his mention of covenant to the words of Moses, as he sprinkled the sacrificial blood on the people and the altar to seal the covenant that made Yahweh and Israel blood brothers: “This is the blood of the covenant which Yahweh has made with you” (Exod. 24:8). Both Paul’s and Mark’s formulae mean: “Just as the Old Covenant was inaugurated by the shedding of blood which brought about symbolized union of life, so also My Blood, shed mystically here in the Eucharist, shed really on Calvary, seals the New Covenant which enables all pa-

takers to become my blood brothers and sisters, to be united with me in this sacrament and sacrifice, a prelude to perfect union in the next life."

Bought with a price, 1 Cor. 6:19-20; 7:22-23

Two other texts in 1 Cor. refer to Christ's Blood as the instrument by which we have been made His own in the New Covenant. In a warning against the degradation of the vice of impurity, the Apostle asks: "Do you not realize that your members are the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you, whom you have from God, and that you are not your own? For you have been bought with a great price" (6:19-20). Certainly the "great price" is the Blood of Christ. In the next chapter, the same motivation is given for not permitting ourselves to be enslaved in any way by human masters: "A slave who has been called in the Lord is a freedman of the Lord; just as a freedman who has been called is a slave of Christ. You have been bought with a price; do not become the slaves of men" (7:22-23).

The terminology seems to be that of a contract of sale: Christ bought us for himself by paying a high price, His own Blood, for our souls which had been enslaved by Satan. But since the price could not have been paid to Satan, some scholars think that Paul may allude to a practice of his time, sacred manumission, a device by which a slave might buy his freedom by depositing in a sanctuary the price demanded. The priests of the sanctuary arranged for the devotee's purchase and technically he became the property of the god to which the sanctuary was dedicated. It is quite possible that some of the Christians at Corinth had obtained their freedom in this way before their conversion. But they might well have regarded the analogy as far fetched, had they suspected the allusion. In their own case, they would have recalled, it was they who painfully had to scrape together the ransom price. Moreover, despite the religious fiction involved, the price eventually was paid to their master.

At least to a Jew, the allusion that would have spontaneously come to mind by a reference in a religious context to freedom from slavery would be the Passover redemption of Yahweh. David Daube (*The NT and Rabbinic Judaism*, p. 282) has an instructive chapter on the notion of redemption in the OT and in rabbinic literature, in which he shows how this Pauline notion of "change of master" is rooted in the language of the liberation from Egypt and the transfer of masters: slaves of Pharaoh hitherto, henceforth they are slaves of Yahweh. But Yahweh redeemed them by His omnipotent power, not by paying a price. In 1 Cor. the price is mentioned by analogy: bought suggests price. But just as in the OT no price was paid except the deploying of Yahweh's mighty right arm, so in the New Covenant the only price in question is the life-Blood of the Son of God, infinite in value and power. But again, the price does not mean a contract of sale; it points to an intervention as gratuitous as that of Yahweh "redeeming" His people from Egypt and from Babylon.

The well-known hymn of Ap confirms this interpretation of Paul's lan-

guage: "Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals, for thou wast slain, and has bought (CCD has "redeemed," based on the Vg *redemisti*, which correctly interprets the Greek) us for God with thy blood, out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation, and made them for our God a kingdom and priests, and they shall reign over the earth" (5:9-10). The verb is the same as in 1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23, "bought." In Ap, however, the references to the covenant are clear, and to the two-fold aspect of Yahweh's redemption: negative, liberation from Egypt; and positive, making Israel His special people, a kingdom of priests. "You have seen for yourselves how I treated the Egyptians and how I bore you up on eagle wings and brought you here to myself. Therefore, if you hearken to my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my special possession, dearer to me than all other people, though all the earth is mine. You shall be a kingdom of priests, a holy nation" (Exod. 19:4-6). Since the Ap text, even though it uses the term "bought," must be understood in the light of the OT, there is a strong presumption that Paul's passing references have the same meaning. Hence, he would be thinking in Covenant terms: Yahweh by His great intervention as *go'el* transferred Israel from his master Pharaoh to the master Yahweh, and made them His own, His blood-brothers through the Covenant sacrifices. This action is brought to its ultimate perfection in the redemption wrought by the Blood of Christ, through which we are transferred from the slavery of sin and Satan to the sweet servitude of Christ.

A parallel to these texts is found in the Apostle's admonition to the clergy of Ephesus, as recorded in Acts 20:28. Paul reminds them that the presbyters have been placed over the Church by the Holy Spirit, the "church of God (the Father) which He has acquired for Himself (*peripoiesato*) by the blood of His Own (Son)." The thought is the same as the Ap text, since "church of God" is an alternate phrase for "kingdom of priests" and "holy nation" in the OT to designate Israel as the Covenant people (see Deut. 4:9-13; 23:1-8; 9:10; 18:16; 31:30; Exod. 12:16; Lev. 23:2-44; Num. 28:25) (according to the Greek). In this text as in the others, it is the Blood of Christ that frees from the bondage of sin and makes the Christian the special possession of God, either as an individual or as a member of the Church.

At-one-ment, Rom. 3:21-26; 5:9

If there is any text that may be regarded as the Apostle's thesis on redemption by the Blood of Christ, it is Rom. 3:21-26. The pericope is the transition from the first to the second section of the epistle. In 1:16-17 Paul had stated his purpose, namely, to show that the Gospel, the good news of salvation brought by Christ, is not simply a body of truths to be accepted intellectually or a theoretical system of ethics; it is the very "power of God" destined to bring salvation to everyone who believes, to Jew first and then to the Greek. In this Gospel the "(salvific) justice of God is revealed," i.e., made known in the Hebrew sense of an existential experience, "from faith to faith," i.e., wholly by faith, or, as Dodd translates, "faith first and last," the faith

which means a total commitment of oneself to this gospel. Opposed to and partially contemporary with this revelation of God's salvific justice, however, is another "revelation": "... the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness" This means that a process or reprobation is also at work, among both Gentiles who have the natural law, and among Jews who have the revealed law. "All have sinned and have need of the glory of God" (3:23) summarizes this condition of mankind; it occurs in the midst of the transitional paragraph, which tells how justification can be and is obtained.

But now the (salvific) justice of God has been made manifest independently of the Law, although it is attested by the Law and the Prophets (since both speak of justification by faith, cf. Gen. 17:5ff; Heb. 2:4); (I mean) the (salvific) justice of God (received) by faith by all who believe. There is no distinction (between Jews and Gentiles in this matter), as all have sinned and have need of the glory of God (i.e., His presence and power, which banish sin and restore friendship with Him). They are justified freely by his grace (i.e., transferred from the condition of sin to friendship with God, thanks to his bounteous, gratuitous mercy) through the redemption (effected by, and when accepted, resulting in incorporation) in Christ Jesus, whom God has set forth as a (means of) at-one-ment by his blood (release of divine life that brings men back to God, if applied) through faith. (This results in the) manifesting of the (salvific) justice of God, who (formerly) in his patient forbearance (partially, and by way of type or figure) remitted sins (through sacrifices and other OT rites). (Thus He prepared) to (fully) manifest his (salvific) justice at the present time, so that (all realize that) He himself is just and makes just everyone who has faith in Jesus" (Rom. 3:21-26).

The Greek term here translated by "at-one-ment" was used by the Greek translators of the Hebrew OT (Septuagint) to render *kapporet*, the gold covering of the ark of the covenant (translated "propitiatory" in the CCD OT). From Exod. 25:22 it is clear that here Yahweh was particularly close to His people: since the ark was His footstool, the *kapporet* must have been His throne: "There I will meet you, and there, from above the propitiatory (*kapporet*), between the two cherubim on the Ark of the Commandments, I will tell you all the commands that I wish to give the Israelites."

Blood played an important role in purifying the *kapporet* on the Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippurim*). Even the sanctuary and the holy of holies and their furniture needed purification, because, according to Hebrew conceptions, people were solidary with the land on which they lived and everything in the land. Hence, the people's sins contaminated not only themselves personally, but everything with which they had contact. If, then, the very place where Yahweh was closest to His people was defiled, it would stand most in need of purification so that contact with Him might be re-established. On Yom Kippurim the high priest had to sacrifice a bullock as a sin offering for himself and his family. Among other ceremonies, he was to take some of its blood and "sprinkle it with his finger on the fore part of the propitiatory (*kapporet*) and likewise sprinkle some of the blood with his finger seven

times in front of the propitiatory" (Lev. 16:14). Similarly, he sacrificed a goat as a sin offering for the people, sprinkling its blood also on the fore part and in front of the *kapporet*. The rubrics conclude: "Thus he shall make atonement for the sanctuary because of all the sinful defilements and faults of the Israelites" (16:16). After like rites prescribed for the Meeting Tent, the same explanation is given: "Thus he shall render it clean and holy, purged of the defilements of the Israelites" (16:19). Evidently, these sprinklings with blood had for their purpose to purify thoroughly this place where the people had most intimate access to Yahweh through their high priest.

In Rom. 3:21-26, therefore, Paul's reference to the *kapporet* conveys this thought: mankind is closest to God in the person of Christ. He is our means of at-one-ment with the Father. But sin stood in the way; it separated us from God and estranged us from Him. This sin patently could not defile the Incarnate Son of God, although the Apostle states that the Father sent "his Son in the likeness of the flesh, (the instrument) of sin as a sin offering, and thus condemned sin in the flesh" (Rom. 8:3). And how was this sin to be removed? "There is no remission except by blood!" was an axiom that needed no proof for a Jewish theologian. But what blood? Paul knew since his conversion that the blood of the OT victims was only preparatory, it effected only an imperfect, token remission. But the Blood of Christ is divine, since it is the Blood of God's Son; it is divine life released, and so its powers of cleansing are in no wise restricted. Thus Paul teaches that what the rites of Yom Kippurim could only foreshadow was realized by Christ, our at-one-ment, and that by His own Blood.

The Apostle refers back to this pericope in Rom. 5:9. The intervening chapter developed the thesis that we apply the efficacy of the divine Blood to ourselves by faith. This justification is, it is true, not yet the perfection of salvation, which will come only at the parousia, the second coming of Christ (and, *positis ponendis*, with the death of each individual). But if God has done so much for us while we were still sinners, enemies of His, now that we are His friends, reconciled to Him, have we not reason to be confident that He will carry through our justification to the fullness of salvation: "But God proves his love for us, because when as yet we were sinners, Christ died for us. Much more now that we are justified by his blood, shall we be saved through him from the wrath," i.e., from final reprobation (5:8-9). The implication is that the Blood of the Savior not only brings us to first justification (as theologians now distinguish our first reception of sanctifying grace), but it also effects second justification, and accounts for what the Council of Trent calls "the great gift of perseverance" (*magnum illud usque in finem perseverantiae donum*: DB 826).

Universal efficacy of the Blood, Col. 1:20; Eph. 1:7; 2:11-14

The efficacy of the Savior's Blood is not restricted to men. Paul knows of no limitation: all creation is affected by the redemption through the divine Blood, including even the angels. In the magnificent hymn which celebrates the universal headship of Christ, Paul makes this extension for the first time

"It has pleased God the Father that in him (Christ) all his fullness (i.e., the fullness of divinity, but in a dynamic sense: the divinity which Christ receives to communicate to men) should dwell, and that through him he (the Father) should reconcile to himself all things, whether on the earth or in the heavens, making peace through the blood of his cross" (Col. 1:20).

This hymn has interesting points of contact with the Jewish liturgy for the Feast of Tents, with which are closely associated the New Year and Yom Kippurim. Allusions to creation and to the last judgment in the liturgical texts of the three feasts suggest the background for the Apostle's development. Especially significant is the designation of Yahweh as the peacemaker "on high, Who makes peace upon us and upon all Israel." What the Jew prayed for on the Great Day of Atonement, therefore, has actually been effected by the Blood of Christ and that in absolute universality.

Eph. 1:7 recalls in passing, that "in him (Christ) we have redemption through his blood," specifying by mentioning the negative aspect of redemption, "the remission of sin." In c. 2 Paul, when explaining that the Gentiles have been included in God's plan of salvation, identified the Blood as the instrument whereby they have been brought to God. The pericope is parallel to Col. 1:20 in part: "Bear in mind that formerly you, Gentiles in flesh, who are called 'uncircumcision' with respect to the so-called 'circumcision' in flesh made by human hand — bear in mind that you were at that time without Christ, excluded as aliens from the community of Israel and strangers to the covenants (full) of promise; without hope, and without God in the world. But now you are in Christ Jesus, you who were once afar off, having been brought near (cf. Is. 57:19) through the blood of Christ. For he himself is our peace, he it is who has made both (i.e., the heavenly and the earthly spheres) one, and has broken down the barrier formed by the dividing wall, the enmity, in his flesh" (Eph. 2:11-14).

Not all points in these passages are explained uniformly by exegetes; they are still the object of study which results in differing interpretations. How Paul can speak of the angels' being reconciled to God through Christ has especially puzzled theologians. From our present state of knowledge, it seems that Paul's language is influenced by his intention to counteract the excessive role attached to their mediation by some Judaizing teachers. Probably his polemic against the Law, which Judaism spoke of as given through angels (Gal. 3:19), accounts for his speaking as if the angels were hostile. His thought might be paraphrased as follows: If you say that the Law must be observed because it is given by angels, I reply that the Law has been abrogated, their mediation done away with, and so they are brought into the Christian scheme of things!

What must be emphasized, however, is that in Paul's thought Christ is the very center of union of the entire universe, human and angelic, rational and irrational. He is first in God's plan, and all things are to return to God through Christ, just as they have come into being through Christ: "... there is only one God, the Father, from whom are all things, and we (are to

return) to him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him (return to the Father)" (1 Cor. 8:6). Sin disturbed the original harmony of the universe, and while it affected only men and angels directly, it indirectly wrought havoc on all creation (Rom. 8:19-22). In the incarnation Christ breaks through the barriers that separate men from God — however you wish to picture those barriers with concrete images — and through the human nature He assumed became solidary with mankind. As our corporate personality He offered the sacrifice, the essential aspect of which is the shedding of Blood, which blotted out sin and reinstated us with God. The reconciliation thus effected will be perfect only at the end of time and patiently implies a change in man, not in God.

Summary and conclusion

St. Paul understood the function of Christ's Blood in the one supreme sacrifice of the New Law in the light of OT thought patterns. In the OT sacrifices blood signified life released and effected purification and union with God. So also the Blood of Christ, which fulfills and perfectly actualizes what the OT sacrifices could only foreshadow.

Negatively, we have seen that there is little, if any, basis in the Bible for a theology of redemption based on a theory of juridical compensation, vicarious substitution, meritorious causality, or propitiation. Not that speculation along these lines is condemned or rejected. Revelation is something living while it contains mysteries that defy our adequate comprehension, they can grow in clarity in the light of the Church's reflection and experience and the study of theologians in categories other than the biblical. We should not, however, attribute to St. Paul, or the inspired authors of the Bible in general, reconstructions like the following: Sin is an infinite offense against God. He could have arranged for its expiation in various ways, or freely condoned it. However, He chose to demand strict justice and required infinite compensation, which only a divine person could make. And so Christ as man suffered vicariously for us and paid the Father the infinite price of His own Blood. Or again, the Father could only condemn mankind for all eternity because of sin. But Christ offered the Father expiation of infinite value, and thus appeased His Father who accepted this more than adequate reparation.

Positively, we have seen that for St. Paul blood is life released and must always be given to God. The smoke of the burnt offerings, especially the holocaust, by which the volatilized offering seemed to ascend totally to God, symbolized return to God, since the offerer by the imposition of the hand identified himself with the victim. Among the Hebrews, however, blood was the essential element. Others might immolate the victim — and this function was ordinarily entrusted to subordinate ministers — but the splashing of the blood on the altar, i.e., giving it to Yahweh, was reserved to the officiating priests. It did not symbolize death, even though this release of life which did symbolize was conditioned upon the death of the victim.

The Blood of Christ also presupposed His death. But this death was t

vealed at the last judgment when man becomes fixed in his rebellion. But even in this life the "wrath" appears in the rift which widens with the multiplication of sin (cf. Rom. 1:18ff).

Prompted by supreme love God decides to save mankind and to lead it back to Himself. Of all possible means He chooses the way which testifies best to His great love and respect for man. He desires that, in a certain sense, man should save himself by returning personally to the Father. God, therefore, sends His own Son to become one of us. Without assuming the guilt of our sins, He takes on Himself our condition as sinners. Like us, He becomes a prodigal son and a lost sheep, in order that He may be the first one to return to the Father. This Pauline theme is expressed by St. John with a play on the word "Passover": "He passes from this world to the Father" (John 13:1).

Man's return to God is not accomplished by legal make-believe, nor by reparation in the merely moral order. Instead, Christ physically assumes weak flesh which is fully subject to suffering and the penalty of sin, though He in no way becomes personally sinful (Rom. 8:3). He dies to this fleshly body in order to arise with a glorious body and to become a "life-giving spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45). From the sphere of sin to which He belongs as being part of sinful humanity He passes to the divine sphere to which He belongs forever as a result of His resurrection (Rom. 6:9). His death is thus a death to sin once for all; His life is now entirely unto God (Rom. 6:10).

Christ was not merely the first one to return to His Father; in a certain sense He has brought all of us with Him. The share which each Christian gains by baptism in the death and resurrection of Christ presupposes that the dying and rising Christ bore in Himself all those who would be called to participate in this mystery. This has always been the teaching of the Fathers.

Numerous Pauline texts suggest or suppose this inclusion of all humanity in Christ. There is no need, moreover, to attribute this concept of Paul to a Platonic philosophy which he did not profess. Jewish thought patterns could easily provide the form for his presentation. This is especially true of the notion of "first fruits" which he himself applies to the resurrection: "Christ has risen from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15:20). The first fruits were understood to contain the whole harvest, so that in the Jewish ritual the offering of first fruits was equivalent to the offering of the entire yield.

All men, therefore, have in a certain sense returned to God in Christ. Something more, however, is required. As a free creature each Christian must ratify this return by his own choice. He in his turn must die and rise again. He must experience that personal return to God, and this is accomplished by faith and baptism, the sacrament of faith. It is in this way that each one passes from the world of flesh to the world of spirit, from the city of evil built by self-love to the city of God built by love of God.

This presentation enables us to distinguish clearly between what is objec-

tive and what is subjective in redemption: the return of all men to God is and through Christ is *objective* redemption; the ratification of this return by the free choice of each Christian is *subjective* redemption.

All this, however, leads to an objection which we welcome, since it provides opportunity to explain our thought more clearly. In what way does sacred Scripture and St. Paul in particular attribute to the resurrection of Christ a power to save?

To center attention too exclusively on the resurrection may lead some to think that this return of humanity to God in and through Christ takes place in a manner wholly biological. In St. John's Gospel Christ uses a comparison which might occasion this error; for He likens Himself to the seed which must fall into the ground and die in order to bear fruit.

This, however, is only a figure. For St. John as for St. Paul it is only through a free act of loving obedience that Christ Himself has "passed" and has made us "pass" with Him to the Father. What is more, the death of Christ alone would lack all redemptive value if it were merely a process of the biological order. It is endowed with power to save precisely because it is the supreme expression of Christ's love and obedience.

St. Thomas never ceases to repeat this truth. In commenting, for instance, on Rom. 5:10 he observes: "It was not Christ's death, simply as death, which so pleased the Father that it reconciled man to Him. God does not rejoice in the death of the living (Wis. 1:13)." The aspect of Christ's death which merited our salvation was rather the fact that it proceeded "from the will of Christ; for Christ willed to die out of obedience to the Father (Phil. 2:8) as an out of love for men (Eph. 5:2)."

His death, in other words, was redemptive precisely because it was the greatest act of love possible for man: "Greater love than this no man has, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13).

Viewed in this light, death and resurrection do not stand in opposition to one another but are instead intimately united. Such a death already implies resurrection. The very love with which Christ freely accepted death is an expression of divine life. Such love is bound to be sovereignly efficacious, essentially life-giving, communicating life, first of all, to the concrete human nature of Christ Himself, body and soul, and then to all human nature.

Human conditions, it is true, made it necessary for an interval of time to intervene between Christ's death and His bodily resurrection. Otherwise death would not be looked upon as true death; much less could it be confessed. Such a death, however, was necessarily and perfectly conjoined with resurrection. The love which prompted it was bound to bring both death and resurrection.

In reality, it is a question of two aspects of one and the same unique mystery. It is something like the bond between remission of sin and the fulfillment of divine life, as St. Paul suggests in Rom. 4:25. This indissoluble unity of Christ's death and resurrection is strongly emphasized in the New Testament. St. Luke, for example, describes Jesus' long journey to suffering and

death in the language of an ascent to heaven (Luke 9:51); on the other hand, he seems unable to narrate the glorious life of Christ without ceaselessly recalling the memory of His passion and death (Luke 25:7, 26, 39, 46).

Similarly, even when St. Paul seems to speak only of Christ's death, he is in reality thinking always of Christ's risen life. This is clear from his constant allusions to "life" which he cannot conceive of except as a share in the risen life of Christ.

St. John, for his part, designedly employs a unique term to designate at once the passion and the glorification of Christ. He borrowed this expression — "to glorify" or "to exalt" — from early Church use of the Suffering Servant passages of the Old Testament. Father Hermann Schmidt has pointed out this same element in the teaching of the paschal liturgy. In the passion and death there shines forth gloriously the victory of the resurrection, and in the risen Christ there remain the scars of His suffering.

Tradition, therefore, emphasizes the truth that Christ by His death reunites us to the Father. But always it considers death as a supreme act of love and therefore essentially as a victory over death "God has ruled from the wood." If, however, we abstract from the resurrection the death of Christ no longer appears to be a victory but only the payment of a debt.

This is why sacred Scripture, the Fathers, and St. Thomas have avoided constructing their synthesis of redemption on the exclusive foundation of meritorious casualty. St. Thomas has arranged his system around the efficient instrumental causality of the humanity of Christ. Sacred Scripture presents a more figurative theme — the picture of man returning to God. In both cases, however, the death and glorification of Christ remain closely united. It is easy, therefore, to understand Paul's summing up of all his doctrine: "Christ was delivered up for our sins and rose again for our justification" (Rom. 4:25).

PAUL'S TEACHING ON BEING AND BECOMING IN CHRIST

George T. Montague, S.M.

In an age profoundly influenced by the philosophy of existence and likewise titillated by the sweeping vistas of a philosophy of becoming such as Teilhard de Chardin throws open to the imagination, one naturally wonders what existence, on the one hand, and becoming, on the other, mean for the Christian.

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More specifically, what is the being and the becoming of the Christian life? To answer the question, one naturally turns to St. Paul, not merely because he was the first to elaborate a theology of the Christian life, but because these two dimensions, being and becoming, weave through his writings as constant themes.

The Christian a new being

For St. Paul, there is no doubt that the Christian has entered a new existence. The Christian life is defined as existing in Christ Jesus (1 Cor. 1:30; Col. 2:10). The stress in these passages is not on a moral demand but on the sheer fact of existing, of having being, less perhaps in the Aristotelian sense of existence, than in the Semitic sense of the fullness of goods, including peace, security and stable well-being, founded in faithful attachment to God. It is, in fact, precisely this sense that the text of Colossians reveals: "In him (Christ) dwells the fullness of the Godhead bodily — and you exist in him as men that have been filled" (Col. 2:9-10). And the same thought is found substantially in the text from Corinthians: "To his (God's) gift you owe your existence in Christ Jesus, who has become for us God-given wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30).

What is stated here explicitly is implied repeatedly in that basic common denominator to which St. Paul reduces all his theological insights, "in Christ Jesus," or similar formulas, of which A. Deissmann has counted 164 in the epistles, excluding Ephesians, Colossians and the Pastorals. In Christ Christians have entered into the possession of the fullness of being.

Our modern ear, accustomed to such commonplaces as "in the army," "in the high income bracket," has difficulty in appreciating the impact which the formula, "in Christ," must have produced in Paul's listeners. He is not thinking of merely entering a state that would be the accretion of a new layer of dignity or responsibility. It is not even an investiture, although the apostle does say that the baptized have "put on Christ" (Gal. 3:27). The depth of its meaning is given when Paul says: "If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creature" (2 Cor. 5:17).

In Gal. 6:15 he explicitly rejects reliance on anything short of an absolute beginning in the Christian life: "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is of any account, but only a new creation." Quite simply the new life is so new and its effects so profound that it can be compared only to the act of creation: In Christ Jesus Christians have been created (Eph. 4:24; cf. 2:10).

Christian life a definitive state

It is the conviction of this profound metamorphosis effected in baptism that explains why all the great themes by which Paul describes the Christian life appear primarily as illustrations of a *fait accompli*. Thus not only Christ save the elect (Titus 3:5; 2 Tim. 1:9), but the latter bear henceforth the title "saved men" (Eph. 2:5, 8). Christians are not only "saints" but

sanctified" — the perfect participle indicating a definitively acquired state (1 Cor. 1:2; 6:11); and the image of the temple, which Christians are, recalls that theirs is a holiness of being (1 Cor. 3:16; 2 Cor. 6:16). They once were darkness but now are light in the Lord (Eph. 5:8; 1 Thess. 5:5). Once sinners, they have now in Christ become the very "justice of God" (2 Cor. 5:21). Stated in terms of Paul's favorite antithesis of life and death, the same truth is brought home when he says that Christians have already died with Christ (Rom. 6:8; Col. 2:20; 3:3), they are dead to sin (Rom. 6:11); they have risen with Him (Col. 2:12; 3:1) and are henceforth alive to God in Christ (Rom. 6:11), and God has already seated them in heaven with Him (Eph. 2:6).

In the wake of such a gospel, it is not perhaps surprising that the Thessalonians should conclude that there was nothing more to do but to await the parousia, and Paul agrees with them when he equates the eschatological service of God with awaiting the return of His Son (1 Thess. 1:9f). He simply clarified for them what it means to await Christ. It means to prepare to appear with Him in a state of holiness which has been tempered by an ever-abounding charity. "May the Lord make you abound and overflow in charity towards one another and towards all men, just as we do towards you, in order to strengthen your hearts blameless in holiness in the presence of God our Father, when our Lord Jesus comes with all his saints" (1 Thess. 3:10-13). This means that the Christian's existence now in the end-time does not entitle him to passivity but necessarily fires him to action because "the time is short" (1 Cor. 7:29).

Action follows being

But in addition to the parousia motive, Paul appeals time and again to the nature of Christian being as possessed here and now. Rudolf Schnackenburg, Alfred Wikenhauser and others have called attention to what they term "indicative-imperative" contrasts in the great Pauline themes. To practically every theme describing what Christians now are (in virtue of what has already taken place), there is a corresponding parenthetic injunction that they should act in accordance with their new being.

Thus, if they are holy, they must "finish off their holiness" (2 Cor. 7:1). If by baptism they have "put on Christ" (Gal. 3:27), they must therefore put Him on (Rom. 13:14; Eph. 4:24). If they are a new creature, they must walk in newness of life (Rom. 6:4). If they are children of the light and of the day (1 Thess. 5:5; Eph. 5:8), they must now cast off the works of darkness and put on the armor of light, or walk as children of the light (Rom. 13:2; Eph. 5:8-11). Since they have died with Christ, they must put to death the passions which belong to earth (Col. 3:5). Because they have risen with Christ, they must walk in newness of life (Rom. 6:4, 11).

Most specific of these texts is that of 1 Cor. 5:7, where Paul tells the Corinthians: "Cast out the old leaven, that you may be fresh dough, as indeed you are without leaven." His point is that they have no longer any rea-

son for acting immorally or for countenancing immorality in the community, for they are now truly new and different in their very being. They must purify themselves from all corruptive remains of their former pagan existence; they are to cast out the old leaven, since or as they are not leaven. The new conduct is not only demanded by their state but is in the exact line of it (the Greek *kathōs*). Hence J. Lilly translates, "Clean out the old yeast, that you may be fresh dough (as, of course, you really are)."

True meaning of indicative-imperative

Thus the categorical imperative for the Christian is to act because of what he is. Yet the terms indicative-imperative, though valid, are far from exhausting Paul's thought on the relationship between Christian being and becoming. They could, in fact, lead to a misinterpretation. Taken alone, the contrasts might lead one to believe that Paul thought of the initial entry into the life, the state of "new creature," as simply a God-given state to which the Christian, in consideration of this noble dignity, should bring his own effort to bear. This would be a serious limitation of the apostle's horizon on three counts: first, man's effort is never something he adds to God's (at least not according to the teaching of St. Paul). Second, Christian growth is not just a repetition of acts. Third, God's "creative" act, the gift of the Spirit, is so dynamic that it pursues its work through the progressive stage to consummation.

The indicative-imperative contrast must, therefore, be broadened to express the two dimensions on which God's action (and man's acceptance and entry into it) work: one, the *constitutive* dimension by which God consecrates the Christian or "creates" him in Christ, the act by which the Christian begins to "be"; the other, the *progressive* dimension by which the same action is continued and deepened through the interim separating the Christian from final reunion with Christ.

To illustrate, it will suffice to look at texts which develop the "constitutive" dimension of Paul's themes into the "progressive." Thus Christians are not only "saved men" but they "are in the process of being saved" (1 Cor. 1:18, 15:2; 2 Cor. 2:15). In the same letter in which Paul says that God saved us (2 Tim. 1:9) he says that he himself suffers for the elect that they may attain salvation (2:10).

Christians are "the sanctified," but Paul asks God to sanctify them through and through (1 Thess. 5:23); the process continues (1 Thess. 4:3) till they are blameless in holiness (1 Thess. 3:13). Christians who are a temple in Cor. 3:16 and 2 Cor. 6:16, grow into a temple in Eph. 2:21. In the same breath Paul says that they have been *built* (Eph. 2:20), yet they are in the process of *being built* (Eph. 2:22). Although God has already glorified Christians (Rom. 8:30), they are being transformed from glory to glory (2 Cor. 3:18); their present light affliction is producing an eternal weight of glory (2 Cor. 4:17).

Christ has all fullness (Col. 1:19; 2:9), yet He is being filled by the Church

(Eph. 2:21). In the same sense, Christians are filled men (Col. 1:10), yet Paul prays that they be filled (Eph. 3:19). They are all one in Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:28), yet they must attain the unity of the faith and become one perfect man (Eph. 4:13). Christ is already in the faithful (Rom. 8:10; Col. 1:27), but Paul prays that Christ find a dwelling-place in their hearts (Eph. 3:17).

Finally, the great themes of death and life likewise reveal a dimension that is progressive as well as imperative. Paul himself aspires to an ever greater conforming to Christ's death (Phil. 3:10). Life is at work in Christians now (2 Cor. 4:12), this new life of salvation which progresses "from life to life" (2 Cor. 2:16).

Theology of tense-antithesis

The shock of this tense-antithesis common to all the great themes of Paul invites further study. To understand the underlying theology, it will help to examine in particular the Pauline theme of newness and renewal, of which the "constitutive" dimension has already been discussed. The Christian by baptism is indeed "created in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 2:10), "he is a new creature" (2 Cor. 5:17), which is the only thing that counts (Gal. 5:15). But this newness is now the principle of a progressive transformation: the inward man is being renewed day by day, that is, he grows newer and newer (2 Cor. 4:16).

Far from being mere passivity, however, this process of renovation, which is the work of the Holy Spirit (Titus 3:5), demands the Christian's cooperation. His mind now has the principle of newness in the spirit that animates it, so that Paul's simple injunction that we must now walk in newness of life (Rom. 6:4) is made clearer by the injunctions, "Be transformed by the renewal of your mind" (Rom. 12:2) and "Be renewed in the spirit of your mind and put on the new man" (Eph. 4:23f), who, according to Col. 3:10, "is being renewed unto knowledge according to the image of his Creator," that is, the renewal leads to a more lucid knowledge of the mystery of God and Christ, to a restoration of the divine image and likeness (cf. Gen. 1:26f; 3:5), progressively regained by transformation into Christ (2 Cor. 3:18).

The key text on renewal is Titus 3:5, where Paul says: "He saved us through the bath of *regeneration* and the *renewal* of the Holy Spirit." The first thing to note about this text is that it clearly distinguishes two terms: *paliggenesia* (regeneration) and *anakainōsis* (renewal). The first term is borrowed from the realm of nature, the second from that of art; yet they are both bound closely together and associated with the rite of baptism (the bath), in such a way that the second is the follow-up, the consequence, the consummation of the first.

The *paliggenesia* refers to that free act of God by which He transfers the sinner from the kingdom of darkness to that of light, from death to life. It is the rebirth of which Jesus speaks in John 3:3: "Unless a man be born again . . ." (cf. the "being born of God" in John 1:13; 1 John 5:4). It is the

absolute beginning, the constitutive aspect, in which the subject is wholly passive, even as the child has nothing to do with his own birth. The introduction of *renewal* brings an additional nuance of considerable importance: this is the gradual conforming of the Christian to that new spiritual world in which he now lives and moves, the restoration of the divine image, like that of a work of art. In it the subject cooperates with the Holy Spirit who dwells in him (Rom. 8:11) and impels him to live as befits his new state of divine sonship (Rom. 8:14).

The theme of renewal as descriptive of the progressive transformation of the Christian is most properly Pauline. Already used in the Septuagint for the renewal of nature by the spirit of Yahweh (Ps. 103:30), the verb in the passive, "to be renewed," is used of Christians only by St. Paul, and the noun *anakainōsis*, "renewal," unquotable anywhere in Greek before Paul, was apparently his own coining.

There are other themes in Paul which develop the theme of progress: the Christian life is a walking, a way of life, a path, a race, a combat, a pursuit. It grows, increases, abounds, bears fruit, becomes strong and stable. It calls for completion, finishing off, sanctification, increasing worthiness. It is a building process, a formation, a transformation, a glorification. But beyond all these themes, that of renewal seems to express best and in a way most characteristically Paul's, the relation between the Christian's being and his becoming. Whereas the natural man is born and then grows older, the Christian is reborn and then under the influence of the spirit grows newer and newer.

Reasons for progress

The question may still be asked: "Why is the Christian life necessarily life of continual progress?" One answer might be that the end-time given by God is the time of great opportunity (*kairos*), the time to prepare by interior holiness and growing charity for the return of the Lord. The thought is certainly Pauline, from the first Epistle to the Thessalonians to the Epistle to the Ephesians: "that we should be holy and blameless in his sight" (love) (1:4).

But there is, I think, in the very heart of Paul's dominant formula, *Christ*, the key to the imperiousness of Christian growth. In 2 Cor. 3:18, Paul says: "We all, with face unveiled, reflecting as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into that very image, from one degree of glory to another, as by the Lord, who is spirit." There is some dispute to how to translate certain elements of this verse, particularly the final *kyriou pneumatou*, which some would render, "by the spirit of the Lord" and others "by the Lord, who is the spirit." The context, however, which is of contrasting the clear knowledge of Christ now available to us with the veiled knowledge of Him in the Old Law, makes it clear that "Lord" here means Christ, its ordinary meaning in Paul, and "spirit" does not refer directly to the Holy Spirit but is an appositive of "the Lord." He is trans-

the real axis of his argument. Not the meaning of Scripture, but Christ is the *a priori* for his judgment of the law." We would say, rather, that for Paul the full meaning of Scripture, and his judgment about the Law and every other institution of Israel, were derived from his faith in Jesus as Messiah and Son of God. But Schoeps is surely right in saying that Christ was the *a priori* for Paul's interpretation of Scripture. The question is simply whether that *a priori* was right. Those who, like Paul, believe that it was, cannot but accept the general trend of his interpretation of the Old Testament.

Justification, works, faith

When we speak of someone as "just," we usually mean that he gives others what is due to them. That meaning of the word is found also in the Bible, but the biblical concept of justice is more inclusive (the just man is the opposite of the wicked; cf. Gen. 18:25), and in some respects quite different (God's justice is His saving activity on behalf of His people; cf. Is. 46:13). We shall not discuss here the probably insoluble problem of the basic meaning of the Hebrew root from which the various words belonging to the vocabulary of justice are derived. So far as biblical *usage* is concerned, there are two principal currents of meaning, depending on whether the words are used in connection with a judgment, or in connection with God's salvific and merciful acts.

The verb "to justify" and the words related to it such as "justice," "just," "justification," belong originally to the language of the law court. The judge "justifies" a man by declaring him innocent. He is a just judge if his verdict corresponds in fact with the guilt or innocence of the defendant. Perversion of the judicial function was one of the crimes denounced by the prophets, and the Mosaic Law warned: "Thou shalt not justify the guilty" (Exod. 23:7). When the judicial process was transferred from the human scene and used to describe God's dealing with man, the result was the crushing realization that because of man's sinfulness no verdict was possible but that which pronounced him guilty: "Before you no living man is just" (Ps. 142:2). And since God, "the judge of all the earth" (Gen. 18:25), cannot but act justly, man's situation seems desperate, for he can expect from God only a sentence of condemnation. Hence the foolishness of believing that one can be declared righteous (i.e., "be justified") by God on the basis of one's deeds, on the fulfillment of the Mosaic Law. Realizing this, the psalmist had pleaded: "Enter not into judgment with your servant" (Ps. 142:2). The law was holy and "spiritual" (cf. Rom. 7:12, 14) but it could only tell men what they should do; it did not give them the power to fulfill its commands. Only God's mercy could save them.

But man has not been left to himself. God can "create a clean heart" for him (Ps. 50:12), and the message of the Scripture is that He has done so. Strangely enough, the vocabulary of justice is used in the Bible to describe this merciful acting of God, a fact which has obscured its meaning for those who do not recognize the transfer from the area of the legal and ju-

dicial. The juridical terms have taken on a new meaning: God's justice is His mercy whereby, faithful to His covenant promises, He saves men. The many Old Testament texts in which God's justice is made parallel to His mercy, kindness, and salvation are the sources which indicate this new meaning; of all of these, perhaps the clearest is Psalm 84, in which God's justice is contrasted with His wrath. Although Israel has sinned and deserves punishment, the psalmist, conscious that God has forgiven His people, can sing: "You have withdrawn all your wrath; you have revoked your burning anger . . . Kindness and truth shall meet; justice and peace shall kiss . . . Justice shall walk before him, and salvation, along the way of his steps" (Ps. 84:4, 11, 14). Our familiar justice-mercy contrast disappears here. What we usually call God's "justice" is here called His wrath, and His justice is a synonym for His mercy.

There is a change also in the meaning of the verb "to justify." In the Fourth Servant Song, the verb no longer means the act of pronouncing a person innocent, but rather an act conferring forgiveness of sin and true interior righteousness. The Suffering Servant of the Lord "shall justify" many because His sufferings are the means whereby God will forgive men their sins: "Through his suffering, my servant shall justify many, and their guilt he shall bear . . . he shall take away the sins of many, and win pardon for their offenses" (Is. 53:11-12).

"What Israel was seeking . . ." (Rom. 11:7)

Paul bears witness to the passionate desire of his people for justice, that is, for a right relationship with God (cf. Rom. 10:2-3). But he saw that they could not achieve what they desired as long as they continued to look for it where it could not be found. They believed that fidelity to the Mosaic Law was what made a man just, and so interpreted such statements as that of the psalmist: "The Lord rewarded me according to my justice . . . for I kept the ways of the Lord. . . . His statutes I put not from me" (Ps. 17:21-23). The ambition of the pious Jew was to observe perfectly the commandment of the Law (cf. Ps. 118:112). Paul, on the contrary, argued that the Law could not be the source of man's justice, for it places a curse on all who do not keep every one of its precepts, and since no one keeps it perfectly, all fall under that curse (Gal. 3:10-12).

George Foot Moore, the Christian author of a classical and sympathetic work on Judaism, wrote: "Paul's definition of righteousness as perfect conformity with the law of God would never have been conceded by a Jewish opponent." We may admit that the perfect fulfillment of the Law was an ideal which every Jew knew man could not achieve, and that in Galatia 3:10-12, Paul was pressing his point very hard — in the rabbinic manner. Yet, to a considerable extent observance of the Law was possible, and it is the area of that attainable element of the goal that the root defect of Jewish piety of Paul's time lay. It is hard to think that even the most observant Pharisee imagined that he could achieve perfect obedience to the ent-

forming us because He is spirit — that is, He possesses now the power of divine influence by which He can bring His members into transforming union with Himself.

This is made possible because Christ's members are united through faith and baptism to His glorious body. To be "in Christ" means to be baptized into His body. "You have been baptized into one body" in 1 Cor. 12:13 does not mean that as a result of their baptism all Christians form a body, but rather (with Cerfaux), baptism effects a dynamic union with the physical body of Christ now glorious in heaven. As our present text makes clear, this contact with the "spiritual body" of Christ means being under the influence of its dynamic and transforming power, so that it is impossible to be truly "in Christ" without being continually open to the effects of this progressive transformation by Him. The Christian moves even now from flesh (*sarx* — mere humanness) to spirit (*pneuma* — a spirit-guided life) because he is united to the body of Christ, who is spirit.

Being and becoming in Christ

"Being" in Christ, therefore, necessarily involves "becoming" in Him. It is not a question of acting *as if*, but of acting *because*; that is, Paul's theology of Christian becoming is rooted in Christian being. If Christians are under the progressive influence of Christ who is spirit, it is because they are already somehow one spirit with Him (1 Cor. 6:17). "Become what you are!"

Yet in the becoming, Christian action is not semi-Pelagian, as if man's efforts added something to those of God. Man's conscious response is actively engaged, but the Lord Himself has taken first responsibility for the progress of His members by making them one with Himself, the unfailing source of the transforming influence. His continuing action is guaranteed: "He who has begun this work in you will continue to perfect it until the day of Christ" (Phil. 1:6). It goes without saying, therefore, that the growth of Christians must be continual. To be in Christ is necessarily to become in Him.

ST. PAUL AND THE JUSTIFICATION OF ABRAHAM

Myles M. Bourke

If one were to judge St. Paul's estimate of Abraham by the number of times he speaks of him in his epistles, one would conclude that, for Paul, the father

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of Israel was not a very important figure. Apart from a theologically insignificant mention in 2 Corinthians 11:22, the patriarch appears only in a few texts of Romans and Galatians. Yet Paul assigns to Abraham a role which is unique in salvation-history. He is pre-eminently the man of faith, whose complete acceptance of God's word makes him the prototype of all who believe in Christ; he exemplifies the fact that men are justified not by what they do but by faith; the justification of the Gentiles is the fulfillment of the promise made to him: "In thee shall all the nations be blessed" (Gal. 3:8; cf. Gen. 12:3). In him, the continuity of the two Testaments becomes vividly clear for if one cannot be a true descendant of Abraham unless he believes in Christ, conversely, those who believe in Christ, whether they be Jew or Gentile, are true descendants of Abraham. He is the father of all believers (cf. Rom. 4:11-12), and "if you belong to Christ, you are the offspring of Abraham, heirs according to the promise" (Gal. 3:29).

Christ, the key to understanding the Old Testament

Before we discuss what Paul has to say about Abraham's justification by faith, some observations should be made about his use of the Old Testament in general. Evidently, Paul had not become a Christian because of having read the Old Testament and realizing that it had been fulfilled in Jesus. He had been changed from a persecutor of the Church to the most effective of all the apostles because in his vision on the way to Damascus he had had a experience which left no room for doubt that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of Israel, and that He whom the Jews had crucified had been made Lord and Christ by the Father.

Like every religious Jew, Paul had been convinced that the scriptures of the Old Testament were the very word of God, and when he became a disciple of Christ he realized that since Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, those scriptures must have pointed to Him and been a preparation for His coming. The sacred history and the institutions of Israel could not have been without meaning. The fact that most of Paul's Jewish brethren had not accepted the Messiah, a source of profound sorrow and continual distress for him (cf. Rom. 9:1-3), could not mean that God's providential design had failed or that His election of Israel had been in vain. The promises made to Abraham and his descendants held good; the prophecies about the salvation which Yahweh would send to His people could not be mistaken. Jesus was no phenomenon outside of, and unrelated to, the nation which was God's very own; the greatest glory of the Hebrews was that "the Christ according to the flesh" was one of them (Rom. 9:5). And if it was impossible to understand Jesus apart from the Old Testament scriptures, it was impossible to understand them apart from Him. They could be grasped in their full meaning only when seen in the light which streamed on them from the risen Christ.

Hans Joachim Schoeps, a Jewish scholar quite sympathetic to Jesus, though not to Paul, has said of the Apostle: "The retrospective way of thought

expression of infinite love and obedience, which could find its terminus only in reunion with the beloved. The complete sacrifice of Christ, then, in which we are solidary with Him, is death and resurrection. Essential to both is the Blood, which is poured forth in death and as life ascends to God to Whom alone it belongs.

REDEMPTION THROUGH DEATH AND RESURRECTION

Stanislas Lyonnet, S.J.

St. Paul could not conceive of Christ as savior and redeemer independently of the resurrection. If proof of this be needed, it may be found in chapter 15 of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "If Christ has not risen, your faith is vain" (v. 17). Paul does not say merely that if Christ had not risen the Corinthians would lack sufficient motive to believe in Him. He affirms rather that without the resurrection faith would lack a real object.

The very adjective he uses indicates that such faith would be worse than merely empty; it would be *mataia* — deceitful and illusory. That is why Paul adds, "In that case you are still in your sins" (v. 17). Père Spicq's comment on St. Paul's thought is directly to the point:

If Christ has not risen, faith is sterile, and the faithful are still in their sins. In other words there has been no redemption or eternal salvation. The Gospel message is empty of all content . . . Redemption and resurrection are intrinsically united. We cannot emphasize too much this central doctrine of Pauline theory.

This bond between redemption and resurrection is more clearly affirmed in v. 45 of the same chapter of First Corinthians, where St. Paul declares that through resurrection Christ, the new Adam, has become "a life-giving spirit." Certainly this does not mean that the second person of the Blessed Trinity has become the third person. It means rather that through resurrection the humanity of Christ has passed from a carnal state to a spiritual state — a heavenly state, indeed, in which He can confer life upon all men by communicating to them His Holy Spirit.

This doctrine appears to find decisive confirmation in the well-known text with which Paul opens the epistle to the Romans. He announces that his gospel centers in the Son of God "who came from the line of David according to human origin and who by His resurrection was constituted Son of God

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with all the power which belongs to Him as a sanctifying Spirit" (Rom. 3-4). These words take on special importance from the fact that they are drawn from a very early creed or confession of faith. Such derivation makes the formula a convincing credential to guarantee Paul's person and doctrine before the Church of Rome.

In this text St. Paul declares that Christ, the Son of God from all eternity, has become one of us through His birth as a son of David. But what a contrast there is between His piteous lot as a human being and the glory that will be His after the resurrection. Then it is that He will be enthroned as the messianic Son of God to carry out His work as savior. For this He has been endowed with power through the very resurrection which made Him a "life-giving spirit."

An authentic commentary on these verses, so rich with doctrine, is found in a sermon which St. Luke places on the lips of St. Paul in chapter 13 of Acts. After recalling noteworthy events in Jesus' life, the author underlines the importance of the resurrection. He sees in it the fulfillment of the messianic prophecy, "You are my son; this day I have begotten thee" (Ps. 2:7).

Christ, therefore, is "constituted Son of God" by His resurrection. This statement does not imply that now for the first time Christ becomes "Son of God" in the depths of His being. He was always God's Son in that sense (cf. Rom. 1:3). The meaning is rather that Christ's sonship is now seen in relation to us; through resurrection He becomes capable of sharing His sonship with us. This is the meaning which the Fathers have found in this text. St. Cyril of Alexandria writes, "He is the Son through whom we also become sons and through whose Spirit we can cry out, 'Abba, Father!'"

Affirmations like these are easily adapted to any system in which resurrection is assigned an all-important role among the redeeming acts of God (projective redemption). Such, for instance, is the system of St. Thomas who treats the humanity of Christ as an instrument of the divinity both in death and in glory.

St. Paul, however, was not familiar with the philosophic concept of instrumental cause. If therefore we wish to represent his concept of the redemptive work of Christ, I think we can safely do so with the help of the following image which is completely based on scriptural concepts which were familiar to him.

St. Paul appears to us to represent the redemptive work of Christ as the return of humanity to God from whom sin has separated it. In dying and rising again Christ was the first to achieve this return as the representative of all men (cf. 1 Cor. 15:20); this is *objective* redemption. Each Christian follows in turn, dying and rising with Christ in baptism (cf. Rom. 6:3-4); this is *subjective* redemption.

The sin of Adam had separated mankind forever from God its Father. As time went on, this gap was bound to widen more and more. To express this absolute separation between God and man, the Bible speaks metaphorically of man lying under the "wrath of God." This "wrath" will be fully

Law; his error lay, rather, in thinking that what he had achieved was, in the last analysis, achieved by his own powers. As an example of that belief, we may take a verse of the *Psalms of Solomon*, a Pharisaic composition of the first century B.C.: "Our works are subject to our own choice and power; to do right or wrong is the work of our hands" (Ps. Sol. 9:4). The correlative of that belief was that God, the just judge, must recognize the righteousness of those who kept the Law, and recognize it precisely as their own work. Keeping the Law by their unaided powers, men would, in a sense, put God in their debt and establish a claim against Him: He must recognize their justice and reward it.

This does not mean that Paul's Jewish contemporaries did not realize their deficiencies and their need for forgiveness of their sins. But, for them, nothing but their own free choice was necessary for the performance of good works. Their attitude may be summed up by the later Talmudic statement: "All is in the hands of God, save the fear of God." It is there that Paul found himself in complete disagreement with Jewish theology. And he pointed out that that theology was in disagreement with the Old Testament itself, for there one read that Abraham, the father of Israel, had been justified, not by works, but by faith: "Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as justice" (Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:6; cf. Gen. 15:6).

Abraham justified by faith

That man is justified by faith is a truth which came to Paul as a consequence of his insight into the mystery of Christ. "For if justice is by the Law, then Christ died in vain" (Gal. 2:21). But Jesus' resurrection proved that He had not died in vain; on the contrary, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself" (2 Cor. 5:19). The way in which that reconciliation had been brought about showed that man cannot be in right relation with God unless God takes the initiative; justification cannot be a reward for works which man has done. But on reading the Old Testament in the light of his knowledge of what God had done in Christ, Paul saw that in the matter of justification God had always dealt with men in the same way: justification had always come through faith, as the case of Abraham showed.

Paul speaks of Abraham's justification in both Galatians 3 and Romans 4. The former epistle was written in a context of fiery polemic; the latter is calmer in tone and carefully constructed. But each has as its background Paul's controversy with those Jewish Christians who insisted that the Gentile converts to Christianity must observe the Mosaic Law, or, at least, its capital prescription of circumcision. Only so, they argued, could the Gentiles be saved. For them, Christianity was a sect of Judaism, distinguished from the parent religion only by the belief that Jesus was the Messiah. For Paul, the demand that the Gentile Christians keep the Law of Moses revealed complete misunderstanding of the work of Christ; it exalted what man does rather than what God has done for him, and it was actually unfaithful to the profound intentions of the Old Testament.

By showing that Abraham had been justified by faith, Paul made it clear that his teaching on justification was in agreement with the religion of the Old Testament, rightly understood (cf. Rom. 3:31); and he set himself in opposition to the current view of late Judaism that God's election of Abraham was a reward for his keeping the precepts of God and for his loyalty at the time of his great testing, when he received the command to sacrifice Isaac. (According to the rabbinic tradition, the precepts observed by Abraham were those of the Mosaic Law, which had been revealed to him.) The view that Abraham's observance of commandment and fidelity under testing were the reason why God chose him and promised him that in his descendants all the nations of the earth would be blessed, was the result of a reading of the Genesis texts under the influence of that over-estimation of law which characterized late Judaism. What was central to its own spiritual life became the norm by which it interpreted the past.

But Paul asks: "What does the Scripture say?" In answer, he quotes Genesis 15:6: "Abraham believed God and it was credited to him as justice" (Rom. 4:3). Before the Mosaic Law existed, before Abraham himself had been circumcised, the childless patriarch was promised by God that his descendants would be as numerous as the stars; he believed the promise, and his faith was "credited to him as justice" (cf. Gen. 15:2-6). Abraham did nothing but believe. His circumcision, received later, was simply the sign which confirmed the fact that he had already been justified by his faith (cf. Rom. 4:11).

Paul's use of Genesis 15:6

It is frequently said that Paul read into Genesis 15:6 a meaning which does not have. The Jewish scholar Benno Jacob represents that opinion when he states that the text has nothing to do with the explanation given to it by "Christian exegetes who base their Christian faith on it," and he claims that the Hebrew verb translated "to believe" does not express what Christians mean by faith, nor does the Hebrew noun translated "justice" mean what Jacob calls "Pauline justification." Let us examine that opinion.

It cannot be denied that at times Paul uses rabbinic exegetical technique taking a verse out of its context and giving it a meaning which has little or nothing to do with its true sense. But that does not seem to be the case in his interpretation of Genesis 15:6. In the first place, he does not take it out of its context. The verse refers to an incident which took place before God made His covenant with Abraham and before Abraham was circumcised. So far as the sequence of events is concerned, Paul has respected the lines of the Genesis narrative.

Is it true, as Jacob claims, that the belief of Abraham was not faith in the Christian sense of that word? On the contrary — the Old Testament conceives of faith and that of the New Testament are fundamentally the same. The agreement of the two is evident when one realizes that generally in the New Testament, faith is understood not simply as an act of intellectual assent, but

as the total response of man to the word of God. Rudolf Bultmann's statement, "Paul understands faith primarily as obedience," is certainly right, provided one sees that the obedience of faith means the readiness to submit oneself entirely to God and accept His word. The obedience includes an intellectual element, viz., one's acceptance of the revelation that God has manifested Himself in the redemptive act of Christ, and that through that act He has made possible man's passage from the realm of sin and death into that of spirit and life, with and in Christ. But if the acceptance of that truth remains merely on the level of intellectual assent, there is no faith in the Pauline sense, for the faith of which Paul speaks is that which "acts through love" (Gal. 5:6).

We must admit, however, that the question of the relationship between Abraham's faith being "credited to him as justice" and the Christian's faith being similarly credited (cf. Rom. 4:24) is more complicated. To discuss it adequately would involve going into matters which cannot be dealt with here. But if we may accept the view that when Paul says that Abraham's faith was credited to him as justice, he means that by his act of faith in God's promise Abraham entered into a situation of right relationship with God (cf. Lucien Cerfaux: "God sees faith and grants justice; He creates justice in man"), we must grant that Paul has gone beyond the meaning of Genesis 15:6. For, most probably, in that verse "justice" means a righteous *act*, as in Isaiah 56:1 and 64:5, where the Hebrew word translated in the Confraternity version as "what is just" and "good deeds," respectively, is the same as that translated "justice" in Genesis 15:6. It is hardly conceivable that the author of Genesis 15:6 wished to say that Abraham was put into a situation of right relationship with God by his act of faith. If that were his meaning, one would have to draw the conclusion that previously Abraham had not been in God's favor — an impossible view, considering the way in which he is described from the time of his call by God (Gen. 12:1-3).

At the same time, it seems that Paul's understanding of Genesis 15:6 is a legitimate extension of its meaning, an extension justified by the total portrayal of Abraham in Genesis. Abraham was put into a condition of friendship with God (cf. Is. 41:8) by his first response to the call and promise of God narrated in Genesis 12:1-3. His justification, then, took place at the time that God first manifested Himself to him, when he immediately accepted and obeyed the word of God (cf. Gen. 12:4), before he had done anything but put his faith in Him who called him. In so far as that is so, there is identity between Abraham's justification and that of the Christian. In using Genesis 15:6 as he did, Paul went beyond the original meaning of the verse, but he did so in a way which was faithful to the tenor of the *Genesis* descriptions of Abraham. The text served as a suitable means for Paul to express, in summary form, Abraham's response to the word of God and the gift which that response brought him.

ISRAEL'S MISSTEP AND HER RISE — The Dialectic of God's Saving Design in Romans 9-11

John M. Oesterreich

In his Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul proclaims the mysteriousness of God's design in these words: "God has shut up all in unbelief that he may have mercy upon all" (11:32). There is no other term by which to characterize this staggering truth than "dialectic" — that interplay of real or seeming opposites which serves to give the world of senses as well as the world of grace their rich texture. God "making" Jews and Gentiles the prisoners of their disobedience so that He might prepare their freedom — this is a dialectic *sub preme*.

Israel's honors

Between the beginning of chapter nine and the conclusion of chapter eleven of St. Paul's letter to the *Romans*, there is a typical Pauline tension that some exegetes find perplexing:

I speak the truth in Christ, I do not lie, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Spirit, that I have great sadness and continuous sorrow in my heart (Rom 9:1-2).

Chapter eight, however, ends on the assurance that nothing could separate the Apostle "from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom 8:39).

There is, indeed, a sudden, unexpected switch from the last verse of chapter eight to the first of chapter nine, from a hymn of victory to a cry of anguish. Yet, there is no real change of mood. Dialectically, the two emotions — the Apostle's boundless confidence and his deep sorrow — are one. They are held together by the same love; in fact, they spring from the same passion: St. Paul's ardor is not unlike that of his Master, who thought nothing of "emptying Himself" of His divine glory in order to become a slave for our sake (Phil 2:5-7). Paul's desire to be an outcast from Christ for the sake of those of his brethren who are divorced from the same Christ is no relapse into Jewish narrowness or national sensibility, as some would have it. Quite the opposite, the Apostle's *deepest* bond to his people is not blood but providence; his tie is more than biological — it is salvific, *heils-geschichtlich*. The only triumph he seeks is God's.

In saying this, we do not wish to deny St. Paul's intimate sense of solidarity with his kinsmen who do not believe in Christ. Still, in Romans 9:1-11 Paul speaks not as a "Jew" but as an apostle whose love is not bounded by ethnic considerations, who encompasses the Church and Israel. Both — his kinsmen "according to the flesh" — are included in his love.

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spirit" and those "according to the flesh" — he calls "brethren," though evidently not in the same sense. It would be quite inadequate, however, to say that the latter are his natural, and the former his supernatural, brethren. For his affection, anguish, and care are of the order of grace. Not as a "Jew," then, but as an apostle does he speak of what are generally called Israel's unique privileges:

They are Israelites; they have been adopted as God's sons; theirs is the glory [of the divine presence], theirs are the covenants, the law, the worship [of the living God] as well as the promises. The patriarchs are theirs, and from them is the Christ, according to [his] humanity [literally: according to the flesh], he who is God above all, praised throughout the ages. Amen (Rom. 9:4-5).

"Privileges" or "prerogatives" can be misleading terms; they seem to contradict the Church's role as the new people of God. This apparent contradiction has led some exegetes to misinterpret the meaning of the passage. One, for instance, asks why St. Paul sets forth all the "advantages of Israel," only to say that they make the mystery of her rejection "truly great and inconceivable." Great and inconceivable as the disbelief of many in Israel is to St. Paul, the three chapters we are examining here were certainly not written to proclaim "Israel's rejection" by God. Another commentator holds that these privileges belong, not to the Israel of history, but to the "ideal" people fulfilling God's plan. Yet, in Romans 9:3-4 the Apostle's concern is obviously not with an ideal people but with the people around him; he gives the title "Israelites," not to the holy remnant that believes, but to those of his kinsmen who are blind to the wonder of Christ. He speaks of their sonship, of the glory, the covenants, the promises, the worship and the Law, not as marvels that graced his people only in the past, but as marvels *still present*. Theirs they are, as *is* "the Christ according to the flesh" (Rom. 9:5).

Any difficulty that might be felt in giving such honor to the Israel exiled from Christ disappears if, rather than speaking of Israel's "prerogatives," we call the marvels of Jewish history what they are: gifts freely given; manifestations of God's saving will granted to the Jews for no merit of their own; favors bestowed on them, not for their own sake but for that of the whole world. Because the marvels of sacred history are all this, they cannot simply disappear. Even in her aloofness from Christ, exiled Israel is still "honored" by them, for they are the honor of God, of the God of Israel whose gracious gifts are irrevocable (Rom. 11:29).

Such are the surprising ways of the Apostle, however, that no sooner has he bestowed the glorious name "Israelites" on his separated brethren than he goes on to declare: "They are not all Israelites who are sprung from Israel" (Rom. 9:6). The Hebrew genius likes to disclose the meaning of reality by conflicting, antithetical expressions. By using, side by side, expressions that are extreme and absolute, expressions that disregard nuance and thus lack the shadings that Western thought delights in, the Hebrew mind seeks to reveal the complexity and fullness of the world, even of the world of grace.

In his attempt to unfold the mysteriousness of God's saving design, St. Paul is not content with expressing the polarity of Jewish existence: they [the Jews] *are* Israelites; they are *not* Israelites. Many in Israel stumbled (Rom. 9:32), he argues further, yet God has not rejected His people (Rom. 11:1), having preserved a remnant in which grace has free rein and faith-full thrust (Rom. 11:5-6). Again, the stumbling of the many was — marvelous to say — the signal for the awakening of Gentiles; the decrease of the first brought about the wealth of the latter (Rom. 11:11-12). As if this were not enough the small remnant will in the end expand to untold numbers: "All Israel shall be saved" (Rom. 11:26). There is, then, in the scheme of salvation and hence in St. Paul's three chapters, a movement running from heights to depths and to heights again. It is this upward-downward-upward movement that gives redemptive history its dialectical character.

Israel's stumbling

Like others before and after him, Luther searched the Epistle to the Romans for an answer to the piercing problem of his life: "How do I find a gracious God?" In Romans 9-11, however, St. Paul is not concerned with the destiny of individuals, their predestination or reprobation, but with the fate and salvific function of the two great communities, Israel and the nations. His question is rather: "How does God's redemptive will accomplish its purpose? How will creation be soaked in His glory?"

As the Apostle asks this question, he sees that part of the Jewish people which refused to move with the great messianic current as temporarily suspended or inactivated, but not as rejected. He emphatically denies that God has spewn out His own; gladly he declares: "God has not cast off his people whom He foreknew" (Rom. 11:2). It is not human softness but his wish to have God's truth acknowledged that makes him so insistent. How foreign softness is to him he proves when he unhesitatingly challenges, indeed, wounds his kinsmen. What could pain them more than a comparison of their present role with those of Esau and Pharaoh, their early foes and the hinderers of God's plan (Rom. 9:6-29)? If he hurts, however, it is in order to heal; if he provokes his "unbelieving" brethren to anger, it is in order to press them toward a new beginning.

Still, it is not St. Paul's main purpose in chapters nine and ten to expose the guilt of the people of Israel. As a matter of fact, nowhere in our trilogy is Israel's lack of response to the Christ expressly called "guilt." Though St. Paul leaves no doubt that Israel's failure is *her* failure, he shows a restraint not always discerned. Even an expression like "*Israel's* failure" requires Pauline qualification. Though the Apostle is saddened that those in Israel who accept the Good News are but few, "the chosen part," he is unimpressed by the number of those who have remained blind to the messianic Presence, and simply calls them "the others," "the rest."

What does the Apostle actually say about these, his "schismatic" kinsmen? That they have run against the stumbling-block set up by God in Zi-

and have struck themselves (Rom. 9:32); that their *zeal* for God is indisputable but that it lacks insight (Rom. 10:2); that, obtuse to the justice God works in us, they have strained themselves to be just in His eyes through their own efforts (Rom. 10:3). Again, that they have not believed that Jesus is the risen One, the King of glory, the Lord (Rom. 10:9); that they have not responded to the Good News and that, in contrast to many of the once heedless pagans, they have rebuffed God's embrace that is Christ (Rom. 10:16, 20-21); that they have been blinded, put to sleep, so that the message of the apostles has been no clearer to them than a sealed or hidden scroll.

There is force in these descriptions; St. Paul himself calls one of them "bold" (Rom. 10:20). They are all based on a psalm and on the books of Isaiah and Deuteronomy. Hence, whatever severity there is in them comes down from the Old Testament, a severity, however, that forever remains one of the glories of the Ancient Dispensation. Never has there been a people in whose midst men, inspired and intrepid, dared to castigate the sins of prince, priest, and people alike. Israel may have paid little heed to her prophets; but were the like ever born, ever active, elsewhere?

Though the Apostle plainly continues the stern prophetic tradition, he will not speak of Israel's failure without adding a word of mitigation. The prophets, too, were men of compassion; severe *and* mild, they not only accused but also brought God's comfort to their people. Thus St. Paul will not mention the discernment so sadly lacking in his unbelieving kinsmen without testifying to their *zeal* for God (Rom. 10:2-3). He will not declare: "Israel did not obey the gospel." Because love or, if you wish, truth — the two are one — demands a more discreet expression, he prefers to say: "*Not all* have surrendered to the gospel" (Rom. 10:16). Again, in looking at the many who are severed from communion with the Lord Jesus, he gently states: "*Some* of the branches have been broken off" (Rom. 11:17). This is not mere caution. By faith, he sees the "little flock" (Luke 12:32) as a mighty army and the small remnant as the Israel to whom the wide world has been joined. The few who believe, the infant Church, he recognizes as the core of all mankind redeemed.

Sure of God's saving purpose, St. Paul cannot but speak lovingly. Nowhere is this more manifest than in Romans 11:11-12. If anyone had reason to feel bitter toward his dissident brethren, it was he. Previously he had called them "hostile to all men" because they sought to prevent him and his fellow apostles from proclaiming the way of salvation to the Gentiles (1 Thess. 2:16). But in writing to the Romans he calls their failure a "faux pas," a "false step," a "blunder"; "they tripped," he adds, "they caught their feet," "they stumbled."

Those who are inclined to consider "misstep" an understatement that has no explanation other than a momentary weakness of the Apostle, a partiality toward his own flesh and blood, must find even more surprising his positive view of Israel's "No." Many, far too many, have stumbled, yet their

stumbling is a means, not an end, in the hands of God. Israel's lapse has become an instrument of reconciliation. Compressed into a brief sentence, St. Paul's dialectical argument is this: Israel fell in order to rise. A paradox altogether divine!

Israel's salvation

When the Lord brought Gentiles who once worshipped gods that were "nothings" into the Church, He made branches that had grown in the barren wilderness fruitful, the Apostle tells us. If He has done this, that is to say, if He was willing to transplant branches against their own "nature," how much more will He make fruitful those who are taken from the garden He Himself planted? St. Paul exclaims: "It is in God's power to graft them back" (Rom. 11:23). He who was willing to make mute pagans respond to His word cannot be less willing to make the people He addressed so often — who, it is true, alternated between response and contradiction but never remained dumb — say "Amen," and say it with such vigor that their response will reverberate throughout the cosmos.

For a moment, for a long moment, however, the road on which God takes the world to its salvation bypasses the majority in Israel in favor of her remnant and of generations of Gentiles. For the time being, Israel as a people is outside the Church. Still, it is not forsaken. God's word endures, His choices stand, His gifts and calling will not be revoked nor will they fail (Rom. 11:29). In spite of the present disbelief in Jesus as the Christ, the Jews remain destined for God, ordained for His saving purpose. Willing or not, they belong to Him; they cannot cease to be the people of His predilection: for He loves them because He is good and His mercy everlasting (Ps. 136:1).

Among the wonders that keep the unsubmissive Israel bound to God is the biblical principle of solidarity. "If the first handful of dough is holy, so is the whole lump; if the root is holy, so are the branches" (Rom. 11:16). At the first cake from the year's harvest hallows all the bread in the land who offered to God, so do the first fruits of Christ's as well as of the apostle preaching foreshadow an outpouring of God's grace on the whole people. Again, as a root determines the growth, indeed, the character of a tree, so do the patriarchs, particularly Abraham, give direction to the lives of the descendants. The holy remnant is a pledge of the salvation of all Israel; Abraham, the recipient of God's promise, is himself a promise that the now alone Israel will in the end turn to Christ.

This joyous assurance is the dialectical counterpart to the sorrow with which the Apostle begins chapter nine. At the same time, it is closely linked to the stern words with which he warns Rome's Gentile Christians not to gloat over the lapsed Israel, not to attribute to themselves what they owe God's abundant mercy and to the richness of the olive stem that bears them. Together with the candid confession that by his untiring work among the Gentiles he ultimately seeks the reconciliation of his own kinsmen (Ro.

11:13-14), together with his exhortation that those chosen from among the Gentiles remain part of the life-giving tree by clinging to God's goodness (Rom. 11:17-24), his hopeful vision of Israel's history, which sees patriarch and remnant as tokens of a future of grace for his people (Rom. 11:16), seems to interrupt the mighty movement that leads from verse 11 to verse 32.

If these passages must be considered parenthetical, then they must be thought of as interludes necessary to heighten, rather than lessen, the crescendo of chapter eleven. They are necessary to strengthen St. Paul's message that without Israel's ingathering the world cannot attain its ultimate perfection, and that without accomplishing her salvific instrumentality for the world, Israel is not her true and full self. So vital is the link between Israel and the world that the people of Israel has been called the Alpha and Omega of the entire history of salvation.

Leaving the parenthetical verses behind, we would like to set down St. Paul's Good News in a translation of our own. As at the Easter Vigil the deacon sings, in an ever higher key, *Lumen Christi*, "Light of Christ," so the Apostle goes from joy to joy until he bursts into a jubilant shout: "If their misstep has enriched the world, if their smaller number has enriched the nations, what will their full tale not accomplish?" (Rom. 11:12). He rejoices further: "If their exclusion meant a world reconciled [to God], what will their inclusion mean if not life from the dead?" (Rom. 11:15). Finally, he exclaims: "Lest you trust your own mind [and invent your own solutions to Israel's future], I shall not leave you unaware of this mystery: A part of Israel has become hardened [and this, its insensibility, will last] until the totality of Gentiles has entered. [When this has happened], all Israel will be saved, as is written:

Out of Zion will come the Deliverer;
he will banish all godlessness from Jacob.
And this is what I shall do for them:
I shall take away their sins" (Rom. 11:25-27).

The wholeness of God's saving design

This, then, is the working of God's saving design: though Israel's ingathering will be God's doing, God's plan for the world will not be accomplished without Israel. By itself, to be Abraham's offspring is nothing; indeed, it is wrong for a Jew (as it is for any man) to put his trust in his ancestry rather than in God's mercy. Such is the teaching of the Gospels as it is that of St. Paul (cf. Gal. 5:6). Yet he also teaches the complementary truth that there is much good in being a Jew: in looking at a Jew, God remembers the words He entrusted to Abraham and his sons (Rom. 3:1-2). Again, the Apostle writes that where there is a new birth "there is neither Jew nor Greek . . . All are one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). But this proclamation of oneness must be seen in the light of the message in the Epistle to the Romans that Jews and Gentiles somehow need one another to become ready

for Christ's offer of salvation and that the world needs both — the unity of both — to obtain the fullness of His peace. How could it be otherwise? What love is intent upon giving, only love can receive.

To one outstanding biblical scholar, the special importance that St. Paul assigned to the Jews and their ultimate turning to Christ seems artificial. He goes on to say that if the promise means future blessedness for "Israel," then the heir of this promise is *either* the historic Israel *or* the New Israel, the Body of Christ, in which no people holds a special place. St. Paul feels, tries to have it both ways. In a manner of speaking, this great exegete is right. St. Paul does love "both ways": ultimate blessedness for the Israel according to the flesh, not apart from, but in and through, union with the Israel according to the spirit. Instead of a sad *aut — aut*, "either — or," he preaches the jubilant *et — et*, "as well as," "not only — but also" which is the mark of the whole of Catholic doctrine.

To other exegetes, too, a promise that Israel as a people will be saved seems to be in conflict with the promises fulfilled in the Church; it seems to impair her unique place, as though abundance of grace could ever be determined. Not a few of the early Fathers, inclined as they were to allegorization, understood St. Paul's prophecy "All Israel shall be saved" as referring to the spiritual Israel, and so did some of the reformers.

If I may use resolute language, any interpretation of this kind emasculates St. Paul's message, which is that of the majesty of God, of His fearlessness of a God unafraid, as it were, of astounding His critics as well as His followers. In any case, the overwhelming majority of exegetes throughout the ages give full force to St. Paul's prophecy of Israel's final return. Though we can but conjecture on its pattern and consequences, on its manner of unfolding and on its immediate fruit, this uncertainty in no way undoes the certainty of the hope itself. A divine promise, an apostolic legacy, Israel's eschatological conciliation with the Church is part of her unending expectation.

THE CHRISTIAN'S UNION WITH THE BODY OF CHRIST IN CORINTHIANS, GALATIANS, ROMANS

Barnabas Mary Ahern, C

Today there is a growing trend towards strong realism in explaining Paul's theme of the body of Christ.¹ Far from interpreting it as a mere me

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¹ Besides the authors mentioned in this article the following writers are also to be noted

phor signifying the collectivity of Christians as an organization, many Pauline scholars explain it as a literal designation of the risen Christ in all his concrete reality. This contemporary insight into Paul's thought has led J. A. T. Robinson² to complain, "One could heartily wish that the misleading and un-biblical phrase the 'mystical' body had never been invented."

A biblist, however, may never forget that other norms besides Scripture determine the formulation of doctrine. The fact is that the encyclical *Mystici Corporis*³ presents cogent reasons to show how aptly this phrase expresses the full theological content of the Church's teaching. However, the absence of this expression from Scripture plus the fact that contemporary formulae do not always square with Pauline thought patterns urges a reinvestigation of the scriptural source of our present doctrine. As Pope Pius XII⁴ pointed out in *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, much is to be gained for understanding a dogma by pressing the sources of revelation for their precise literal contribution.

The following pages present a summary review of pertinent allusions to the body of Christ in 1 Cor., Gal., and Rom. It is in these epistles that this concept first receives explicit expression; here too we find the principles which underlie all later development of this theme in Col. and Eph.

Exponents of realism

Much work has already been done to demonstrate the dynamic realism of Paul's thought. Canon Cerfaux⁵ has affirmed time and again that in using the words "Christ" and "body of Christ" Paul never speaks of a pneumatic or mystical Christ but always of the real historic person who rose from the tomb and ascended into heaven. Departing from the earlier position of authors like Prat⁶ and Allo⁷ he insists that Christians do not form a mystical Christ but rather belong to the real organism of his risen person.⁸ Père Benoit,⁹ after several shifts of view, has also endorsed this thesis, asserting

E. Percy, *Der Leib Christi in den paulinischen Homologoumena und Antilegomena* (Lund: Gleerup-Harrassowitz, 1942); P. L. Malevez, "L'Eglise, Corps du Christ. Sens et provenance de l'expression chez saint Paul," *RSR* 32 (1944) 27-94; W. Goossens, *L'Eglise, Corps du Christ d'après saint Paul* (Paris: Gabalda, 1949); L. S. Thornton, *The Common Life in the Body of Christ* (2d ed.; Westminster, 1944).

² *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Chicago: Regnery, 1952) 52 n. 1.

³ *AAS* 35 (1943) 221-222.

⁴ *AAS* 35 (1943) 310.

⁵ *Christ in the Theology of St. Paul*, tr. G. Webb-A. Walker (New York: Herder, 1959) 324-343; *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul*, tr. G. Webb-A. Walker (New York: Herder, 1959) 262-281.

⁶ *Theology of St. Paul*, tr. J. L. Stoddard (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1927) II, 258.

⁷ *Première Épître aux Corinthiens* (EB; Paris: Gabalda, 1934) 328f.

⁸ *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul*, 269.

⁹ "Corps, Tête et Plérôme dans les épîtres de la Capitivité," *RB* 63 (1956) 7, 9-10. In this article, on p. 6, B. retracts the earlier view expressed in his review of A. Wikenhauser's *Die Kirche als der Mystische Leib*, in *RB* 45 (1938) 118. According to this view he conceded that the body theme in Rom. and 1 Cor. is only a metaphor, borrowed from the Stoics, to express the union of Christians. He now says of this: "Cette manière de voir ne me paraît plus soutenable."

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that the body of Christ is not a supra-personal collectivity but the full organism of the animated body-person who now reigns gloriously in heaven. It is, above all, the monograph study of J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, which presents a fully rounded coverage of this theme.¹⁰ In this slender volume Robinson proceeds from a careful study of the Hebrew monistic anthropology to its influence on the Pauline theme of the body of Christ "as the physical complement and extension of the one and the same Person and Life."¹¹ Needless to say, this realistic thesis has not won universal acceptance; but opposition to it is generally due to the influence of a philosophic postulate (cf. Bultmann¹² and Dibelius¹³) or to a misunderstanding of the thought patterns involved (cf. Zapelena¹⁴).

Directive principles of Pauline thought

This fresh approach to St. Paul's thought rests its case on two principles which consistently govern his treatment. (1) As a Hebrew writing on religious themes, he speaks of the body not as a neutral element in the body-soul composite of Greek anthropology but rather as an animated and corporeal person whose thoughts and desires are contained and revealed under the sensible aspect of somatic experience.¹⁵ Though it is an exaggeration to say that the Hebrew mentality knew nothing of the body in a restricted and neutral sense,¹⁶ it is quite correct to say that a Hebrew using the word body in a religious context includes in that term the whole person with emphasis on what is sensible and somatic. This Semitic thought pattern is also our own; for though in abstract speculation we divide man into component parts, still in practical life we are always aware of man's unity, of the inseparable bond between psychic experience and somatic reaction. We deal with another as corporeal persons; love and hate, hope and fear involve an automatic somatic experience and inevitably seek sensible expression.

(2) As an Israelite Paul thinks of Christ as a corporate personality.¹⁷ This

¹⁰ This book should be read with the reservations noted by P. Benoit in his review in *RB* 64 (1957) 581-3.

¹¹ J. A. T. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 51.

¹² *Theology of the New Testament*, tr. K. Grobel (New York: Scribners, 1951) I, 293-11.

¹³ *An die Thessalonicher 1-2, an die Philipper* (3d ed., HNT; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1937) 85-93.

¹⁴ "Vos estis corpus Christi (1 Cor 12:17)," *VD* 37 (1959) 78-95, 162-170.

¹⁵ J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, 26-28 and *passim*; W. Gutbrod, *Die paulinische Anthropologie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934) 32ff. H. Mehl-Köhnlein, *L'homme selon l'apôtre Paul* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux-Niestlé, 1951) 9ff.

¹⁶ Because Robinson seems to imply that the Hebrews always used the word body as referring to the whole person and never in the restricted and neutral sense, Benoit counters in *RB* 64 (1957) 582, by asking the pointed question, "L'Hébreu ne se pensait-il vraiment et toujours que dans ses rapports avec Dieu? Je crains qu'en évitant de faire de lui un philosophe, on en fasse un théologien."

¹⁷ Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality in the Old Testament," *BZAW* 66, 1936) 46ff.; T. W. Manson, *Servant-Messiah* (Cambridge: University Press, 1953) 74 with bibliography.

concept, which probably stems from the role of the chief in Israel's tribal and national life, is found frequently in the OT and must be kept in mind if one is to understand the eponymic character of its history, the continuity of God's favor recorded in its sacred literature, the existence and permanence of its messianic hope. This concept is equally important for understanding Paul's presentation of Christ as the new Adam¹⁸ and his teaching on the efficacy of sacramental contact with Christ. Because he is a corporate personality the Savior died and rose again with vicarious efficacy: "Since one died for all, therefore all died" (2 Cor. 5:14).¹⁹ Herein lies his power to share with others the salvific effects of his death and resurrection.

These two notions of the body as a person and of Christ as a corporate personality are essential for correct and full understanding of Paul's teaching on the meaning and efficacy of the body of Christ.

The body theme in 1 Cor. 6:14-17

His first allusion to this theme introduces it not so much as a master principle of his system but as the emergent of a particular context. He writes of it because he chooses to challenge an ugly problem on the level of its own realism.

Christians of Corinth had fallen back into fornication, into the commingling of body with body not merely as a physical experience but as a full personal and psychic interchange of thought and affection. Paul opposes the sin by appealing to another bond which the Christian has already contracted, the well-known bond between his *sôma* and the *sôma* of the glorified Christ, which is as real as the union between a man and a harlot: "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them members of a harlot" (1 Cor. 6:15)? In both cases the full person is involved. *Sôma* is not merely the physical element in the body-soul composite; for Paul the Hebrew it is the whole self as an animated body vital with the fullness of personality.

It is true, the union between a man and a harlot has in it only the weakness and earthiness of *sarx*: "He who cleaves to a harlot becomes one body with her. 'For the two,' it says, 'shall be in one flesh.'" On the other hand, the union between the Christian and the glorified Christ is vital with the strength and holiness of *pneuma*: "He who cleaves to the Lord is one spirit with him" (1 Cor. 6:17). Nevertheless, whether the union be in "flesh" or in "spirit" (in the Pauline sense of apart from God or in God), it is always the full body-person that is involved.²⁰ It is significant that the

¹⁸ The "New Adam" theme is developed by S. Hanson, *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament, Colossians and Ephesians* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1946) 65-73; E. Percy, *Der Leib Christi*, 38-42; F. Prat, *Theology of St. Paul II*, 446-7; L. Cerfaux, *Christ in the Theology of St. Paul*, 230-43.

¹⁹ A. Feuillet, "Mort du Christ et mort du chrétien d'après les épîtres pauliniennes," *RB* 66 (1959) 483-7.

²⁰ P. Benoit, "Corps, Tête et Plérôme," 13, n. 5: "C'est par opposition au *sôma* uni à

"cleaving" of the Christian to Christ in this text is the *kollasthai* of man cleaving to his wife in God's decree of permanence in marriage (Gen. 2:24 LXX).

The body theme in Rom. 7:4

Again in Rom. 7:4 it is obviously the course of context which leads Paul to speak of Christians belonging to the risen body of the Savior in language which is uncompromisingly physical. In treating of the Christian's relation to the law and to Christ he has introduced the example of a woman free to marry another after the death of her husband. On the basis of this example he goes on to describe the Christian's new relation to Christ as physically real and personal as that of man and wife: "We have been made to die to the law, so as to belong to another who has risen from the dead, in order that we may bring forth fruit unto God" (Rom. 7:4).

These first allusions to the body of Christ are thus incidental, the emergent of a given context. Yet they have a validity all their own because they express so aptly the realism of the Christian's union with Christ as Paul sees it and as he, or his disciple, will express it later in the consummate synthesis of his thought in Eph. 5:25-32 where he likens the union of Christ and his church to the bond between a devoted husband and his wife. No union could be more intimate, because no dependence could be more complete. All that the Christian has as a Christian he receives in the total surrender of his body-person to the body-person of Christ: "You are in Christ Jesus, who has become for us God-given wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30-31).²¹

Incorporation through baptism

This union begins at baptism, as Paul indicates in Gal. 3:27-28. Though shifting his thought pattern he maintains the dynamic realism of the Christian experience: "All you who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ." The analogy is drawn from the action of putting on a garment; but as G. Duncan²² points out, "In Scripture it denotes that the wearer becomes in a subtle way identified with what he puts on." Thus God is clothed with majesty (Ps. 92:1); the arm of the Lord puts on strength (Is. 51:9); the wicked are clothed with shame and disgrace (Ps. 34:26); Job puts on justice (Job 29:14). The same use of *endyesthai* is found also, though rarely in classical Greek where it signifies similarly entering into another's disposition.

la courtisane sous son aspect de *sarx* que Paul écrit ici *pneuma*; il songe en réalité au *sôma pneumatikon* du Christ ressuscité, dont le chrétien est un membre." Cf. E. Percy, *Der Leib Christi*, 14f.

²¹ This text probably expresses better than any other the Christian's subjective participation in the mediation of Christ. W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* (Cambridge: University Press, 1939) 115, n. 1, has called attention to its importance.

²² *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians* (Moffat NTC; Hodder and Stoughton: London, 1934) 123.

tions.²³ Paul employs this figure fifteen times. The present text shows how intimate is the identification which it evokes.²⁴ For he goes on to affirm that in the psycho-somatic rite of baptism the body-person of the Christian is so totally surrendered to Christ that whatever is merely *sarx* disappears, so that "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor freeman; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one ('*eis* — masculine) in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28).²⁵

In speaking of the Apostle's conversion, Wikenhauser²⁶ has posed the question whether it was his faith at the Damascus theophany or his baptism a few days later that made him one with Christ. Probably it never occurred to Paul to differentiate the two moments, since in his mind both elements formed but one experience. For the Jew man acts always as a body-person, with an ambit of activity which necessarily includes a physical and sensible aspect.²⁷ Hence faith in Christ involves, by inherent necessity, the concomitant resolution to join one's whole self to the whole self (*sôma*) of Christ in the physical rite of baptism. Paul's inward experience on the road to Damascus had a radical exigency to be consummated in baptism that his whole self might be engaged in full union with the body-person of Christ. Through baptism the surrender of faith which he had elicited previously found expression in the psycho-somatic rite which completed the surrender of his whole self (*sôma*) to the body-person of the Savior.

Paul therefore teaches clearly that Christian life involves a real and personal union between the individual *sôma* of the Christian and the individual *sôma* of the glorified Christ, a union so intimate that the body-person of the Savior alone functions as the directive spiritual force. If they are two in one spirit, there is no doubt to whom the spirit belongs: "I live, now not I, but Christ lives in me" (Gal. 2:20).

Body union through the Eucharist

This same realism prevails when Paul comes to speak of Christians as a collectivity in his discussion of the Eucharist. Once more the point of departure for his memorable statement is a particular problem, the danger of syncretism arising from sharing in the banquets of pagan worship. He declares that such conduct is incompatible with the celebration of the Christian sup-

²³ Dionysius Halicarn., *Antiquitates Romanae* 11, 5: *ton Tarkynion endyesthai*; Libanius, *Epistulae*, 1048, 2: *ripsas straitôtên enedy ton sophistên*. Cf. A. Oepke, *ThWNT* 2, 319-20.

²⁴ St. John Chrys., commenting on Gal. 3:28 (PG 61:656), observes that St. Paul has exhausted every means of expressing the intimacy of this union until finally he describes the Christian as manifesting Christ in himself (*en autô deiknys ton Christon*).

²⁵ W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1958) 57, refers this text to the Rabbinic doctrine of the unity of man in Adam: "The 'body' of Adam included all mankind. Was it not natural, then, that Paul when he thought of the new humanity being incorporated 'in Christ' should have conceived of it as the 'body' of the second Adam, where there was neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female, bond nor free."

²⁶ *Die Christumystik des Apostels Paulus* (2nd ed.; Freiburg im B.: Herder, 1956) 90ff.

²⁷ A. Schweitzer, *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1930) 110-40.

per which joins the Christian to Christ: "The bread that we break, is it not the sharing (*koinōnia*) of the body of the Lord" (1 Cor. 10:16)?

As proof of this real presence of Christ in the Eucharist Paul appeals to the fact which carried a barbed thrust to the disunited Corinthians. He recalls the truth which was recognized from the beginning (Acts 2:42):²⁸ the remarkable *koinōnia* of Christian fellowship — the unity of many with one another — has its total cause in the *koinōnia* of each individual with Christ, the breaking of the bread: "Because the bread is one, we though many, are one body, we who partake of the one bread" (1 Cor. 10:17). In this text the "one body" is still the individual body-person of the risen Christ. There is nothing here to urge that Paul is beginning to use the Stoic analogue as metaphor for the social organization of the church.²⁹ The "many" are "one body" because communion makes each one con-corporeal with Christ. In the realism of Paul's thought, both baptism and communion enable the risen Savior to become "all in all" (cf. 1 Cor. 12:13). Indeed, Dr. Rawlinson³⁰ is on firm ground when he emphasizes the importance of the Eucharist as the prime element in shaping Paul's doctrine on the church as the body of Christ.

Body theme in 1 Cor. 12 and Rom. 12

Here one is more tempted to find a metaphorical sense in Paul's extended discussion of the body of Christ. Familiar as he was with the expressions and thought patterns of the Stoa³¹ he could have used their classic body theme as a metaphor to describe the unity in diversity which characterized the church as a social body with its distinct functions and members.³²

But several reasons militate against this. First of all, F. de Visscher³³ has shown that the Greek noun *sôma* never denoted a collectivity or social group but always a real physical body. If, therefore, Paul identifies Christians as the body of Christ, he cannot mean that Christians are merely an organization.

²⁸ S. Lyonnet, "La 'Koinōnia' de l'Église primitive et la sainte Eucharistie," *Actas del XXXV Congreso Eucarístico Internacional, Barcelona 1952*, Sesiones de Estudio 1,511-15; M. Fraeyman, "Fractio panis in communitate primitiva," *Collationes Brugenses Gandavenses* (1955) 370-3.

²⁹ L. Cerfaux, *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul*, 278-9.

³⁰ "Corpus Christi," *Mysterium Christi*, ed. G. K. Bell and A. Deissmann (Berkeley: 1931) 275-296.

³¹ A. Fridrichsen, "Zum Thema 'Paulus und die Stoa,'" *Coniect. neotestam.* 9 (1927-31); J. Nelis, "Les antithèses littéraires dans les Épîtres de saint Paul," *NRT* (1948), 360-387.

³² The Stoa instructed the true man to regard himself as a member of the body of the universe; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 92,30; 95,52; Epictetus, *Dissert.* 2,5,24; 2,5,26; 2,10,31. A number of pertinent texts from the Stoa are presented by A. Wikenhauser, *Die Kirche als der Mystische Leib nach dem Apostel Paulus* (Münster in West.: Aschendorff, 1913) 130-43; cf. J. Dupont, *Gnosis. La connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de saint Paul* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1949) 435-8.

³³ The suggestion of T. W. Manson, "A Parallel to a New Testament Use of *sôma*," *JTS* 37 (1935) 835, has been effectively challenged by F. de Visscher, *Les églises d'Auguste décourverts à Cryène* (Louvain: Bibl. de l'Université, 1940) 91: "En dépit de nos recherches (dans la littérature contemporaine), il nous a été impossible de découvrir un seul exemple où ce mot servirait à désigner une collectivité."

Secondly, and more important, throughout this chapter Paul rests his argument not on the diversity which was obvious and provocative but on the unity which is "the first conviction of his faith and theology."³⁴ There is only one body, one Spirit, one Christ: for Paul this is the perfect answer to the problem. Though he describes the diversity at length (and here he may be following the language of the Stoa), still he constantly brings back the thoughts of his readers to the fundamental fact that each one is *syssōmos* with Christ: baptized into his body-person, they are constantly preserved in union with him by drinking of one Spirit in the Eucharist (v. 13).³⁵ If, then, like any real body, the body of Christ must be differentiated into many members, this only corroborates the truth that all Christians together are really the body of Christ, member for member, ruled and vivified by his Spirit.

The question immediately arises, "Is Paul then speaking of the risen body of the personal Christ, or is he speaking of a body apart from Christ yet vivified by him? *Tertium non datur.*" But even today this type of question is fair and valid only when both the questioner and the one giving answer are both thinking in the same thought patterns. It would not be right to press Paul with this query for the simple reason that his thought here rises eminently above our thought and includes formalities which our thought patterns tend to differentiate. He knows and he has said clearly that every Christian is united really and corporally to the risen body of Christ. Concentrating on this thought of the allness and uniqueness of Christ, he has nothing left to say except that all Christians together must be the body of Christ. How this is possible is not his concern at this point. Canon Cerfaux³⁶ is content to translate Paul's words with the non-committal, "You are a body, a body which is that of Christ." It will be the later controversy with the Colossians which will render his expression precise in describing the nature of the bond as the relation of head and members.³⁷ At the stage of 1 Cor., his thought is moving at a level of eminence and realism which is all-inclusive.

The body theme in Romans

In this epistle Paul simply presumes that his readers are familiar with the truth that Christian life has united them — body-person to body-person — with Christ. In developing his thought he is much more concerned to show the dynamic involvements of this union. In becoming a member of Christ's body one lives by his life and shares in all the salvific activity of him who died

³⁴ P. Benoit, "Corps, Tête et Plérôme," 14.

³⁵ E. Percy, *Der Leib Christi*, 17 and R. Schnackenburg, *Das Heilsgeschehen bei der Taufe nach dem Apostel Paulus*, 78-80, interpret the whole passage (v. 13) as referring to baptism, so that both members form a synonymous parallelism. However, in view of a previous reference to baptism as distinct from nourishment: food-drink (1 Cor. 10:2-4), it seems more likely that the "drinking of the Spirit" is a reference to the Christian sacrament of nourishment, the Eucharist. This is the conclusion of E. Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie; Tübingen, 1933) 176; P. Benoit, "Corps, Tête et Plérôme," 15.

³⁶ *The Church in the Theology of St. Paul*, 277.

³⁷ P. Benoit, "Corps, Tête et Plérôme," 18ff.

and rose again as the corporate person par excellence. In the first part of this epistle Christ is seen at work in his task of dying and rising for men. In the second part the Christian shares dynamically in all that Christ is and has. So intimately is he united to the body-person of the Savior that his whole spiritual life becomes the death-life of Christ (Rom. 6:3-11) through the activity of the Spirit who vivifies and glorifies the whole body (Rom. 8).³⁸ In a word, life in Christ is inseparably connected with and provides foundation for life with Christ.

This conclusion emerges clearly from the inadequacy of P. Bonnard's recent effort³⁹ to present a definitive explanation of Paul's *syn*-phrases on the score of merely forensic justification. After reviewing and pointing out the weaknesses of various explanations of this Pauline expression (pp. 105-110), he makes his own suggestion that Paul has borrowed the use of *syn* from the Hellenistic liturgies, even though B. must admit that there is nothing so far discovered in the literature of the mysteries to substantiate his claim (p. 110). As for the reality contained in the *syn*-phrase it consists totally in the mere assent of the individual, living in the present, to the unique and definitive fact of Christ's death and resurrection (pp. 111-112).

This proposal, however, carries the sign of its own weakness. The very fact that Bonnard traces the Pauline *syn*-phrase to the mystery literature (though confessedly without actual verification) shows his awareness that in the Pauline corpus this phrase is essentially dependent upon the believer's real and present share in the life of the Savior, an element which is common to the teaching of Paul and the liturgy of the mystery cult.

Moreover, unless Paul's teaching on life with Christ is founded upon the realism of life in Christ, then Christian experience, as described in the Pauline epistles, is merely the human psychological effort of Jewish striving for justice. Indeed, the salvific event of Calvary is no more effective in the life of the individual than the divine intervention at Sinai unless the believer shares by real participation in the action of the Savior. In ruling out this real contact and in explaining Rom. 6:3-11 as descriptive of a mere mental attitude on the part of the believer, Bonnard is forced to reduce the baptismal liturgy to the commemorative value of the Pesach regulations in Exod. 13.

This is precisely what he does (pp. 111-112; cf. p. 109).

The actual words of Paul, on the other hand, (especially *ebaptisthomen eis Christon* in v. 3⁴⁰ and *symphytoi* in v. 5)⁴¹ plus the whole background

³⁸ Cf. A. Feuillet, "Le Mystère Pascal et la Résurrection des chrétiens d'après 1 Épitres pauliniennes," *NRT* 79 (1957) 343: "Dans l'Épître aux Romains, il est certain que les deux tableaux des chapitres VI (délivrance par le Christ dans le baptême) et VI (délivrance par l'Esprit Saint) se correspondent et se complètent."

³⁹ "Mourir et vivre avec Jésus-Christ selon saint Paul," *RHPHilRel* 36 (1956) 101-102.

The page references in the text are all taken from this article.

⁴⁰ A. Oepke, *ThWNT* 1, 538-9.

⁴¹ P. Gächter, "Zur Exegese von Rom. 6:5," *ZKT* 54 (1930) 88-92. All will accept the author's conclusion that this verse involves an anacoluthon. However, review of all proposed interpretations focuses attention on the general agreement that *symphytoi* involves the concept of real union.

of Pauline doctrine make clear that he teaches a true and intimate union between the Christian and the risen Christ, in virtue of which the baptized actually shares all that Christ has accomplished as his representative. This truth is succinctly stated by S. Lyonnet:⁴²

Strictly speaking, the Christ to whom St. Paul declares us united is always the glorious Christ; but, since he is a Christ who died and rose again, we, by the very fact of our union with him, share in the effects of his death and resurrection. It is in this sense that we are plunged into his death, are crucified and rise with him.

Conclusion

The teaching of Paul on the body of Christ is eminently simple. For him all union is the surrender of the body of the Christian in the Semitic sense of self to the body-self of the risen Savior, thus forming with him only one body. The conclusion is inescapable. This union is an existential contact and a dynamic identification between the faithful and the body charged with power; especially is this true in baptism (Rom. 6:3-11; Gal. 4:27-28) and in the Eucharist (1 Cor. 10:16-17; 11:24-30). The life that is in the body becomes the life of those who are its members. Whether in the first moment of union or in the moment of Parousia consummation, both the Christian and Christ are inseparably united: "We know that Christ, having risen from the dead . . . lives unto God. Thus do you consider yourselves also as alive to God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:10-11).

Seen in this light Paul's doctrine in the great epistles gives strength and meaning to contemporary doctrine on the mystical body. By placing emphasis on the realism of the union between the individual Christian and Christ he contributes a clear insight into the nature of the bond which unites all Christians to one another. Because each one has his all in Christ and because Christ is all in all in each one, therefore the bond which unites one to the other is the dynamic presence of Christ himself. For if Paul's words have any meaning at all, they affirm that between the *sôma*-person of Christ and the *sôma*-person of the Christian there exists a bond so real that the Savior could say to Paul in the moment of his conversion the very words which sum up all his doctrine on the body of Christ: "Saul, why dost thou persecute me? . . . I am Jesus whom thou art persecuting."

⁴² Note on Rom. 6:4 in J. Huby-S. Lyonnet, *Saint Paul, Épître aux Romains* (VS 10; Paris: Beauchesne, 1957) 590.

PAUL'S VISION OF THE CHURCH IN 'EPHESIANS'

Christopher F. Mooney, S.J.

Today the trend toward a strong realism in explaining Paul's theme of the Church as the Body of Christ seems to have gained a very wide acceptance among exegetes, Catholic and Protestant alike. Far from interpreting it as a mere metaphor signifying the collectivity of Christians as an organisation Pauline scholars explain it as a literal designation of the risen Christ in all his concrete reality. Mgr Cerfaux affirms again and again that for Paul Christians do not form a "moral body," a "mystical Christ," but rather belong to the real organism of his risen person.¹ And Professor Robinson, in his fully rounded coverage of this theme, emphasises that Paul's "underlying conception is not of a supra-personal collective, but of a specific personal organism." The Church for Paul "is in fact no other than the glorified body of the risen and ascended Christ."²

The position of the Dominican scholar, Pierre Benoit, is essentially that of Robinson and Cerfaux: the Body of Christ for Paul is not a supra-personal collectivity but the full organism of the real historical body-person who rose from the tomb and now reigns gloriously in heaven.³ In fact, the only objection today to this realistic thesis seems to be from those who argue not from exegesis but from the apparent lack of harmony between such an understanding of Paul and the fuller theological development found in the Fathers and especially in the encyclical *Mystici Corporis*. These objections, however, seem to be merely an example of what has already occurred frequently enough: a simple misunderstanding on the part of theologians of thought patterns discovered by the exegetes.⁴

Along with this wide agreement regarding the realism of Paul's theme of the Body of Christ, there is also general acceptance of the fact that the Epistle to the Ephesians represents the deepest and most profound development of Paul's thought on the Church. It is this development of Paul's thought and its implications for our own outlook which we wish to examine in this article.

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¹ Lucien Cerfaux, *La Théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul*, 2e éd., Paris 1948, 206, 209, 210, 212, 254, 259.

² J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, London 1952, p. 51.

³ Pierre Benoit, 'Corps, Tête et Plérôme dans les Épîtres de la Captivité,' *Revue Biblique*, LXIII (1956), pp. 7-12, 20-1.

⁴ For example, Th. Zapelena, 'Vos Estis Corpus Christi,' *Verbum Domini*, XX (1959), pp. 78-95, 162-70. A clear reply to Zapelena as well as an excellent statement of the relationship between Paul and *Mystici Corporis* has been given by J. Havet, *Doctrine Paulinienne du "Corps du Christ"*, Essai de Mise au Point, *Littérature Théologique Paulinienne*, Louvain 1960, pp. 186-216.

At the end of the major epistles, says Cerfaux, the thought of Paul is that all Christians as a group, in so far as they are a spiritual organism, are mystically identified with the Body of Christ. It would be to go beyond the bounds of Paul's thought in these letters, he continues, either to identify this organism with the Person of Christ or to speak of a "Mystical Body" of Christ as a collective person which forms the Church.⁵ This is also the conclusion of Benoit.⁶ In the key texts of 1 Cor. 12 and Rom. 12 Paul concentrates on the fact that every Christian is united really and corporally to the risen Body of Christ. Within this limited thought pattern Paul can only say that all Christians together must be the Body of Christ. How this is possible is simply not his concern at this point. In the captivity epistles, however, there appears quite suddenly a totally new dimension. To appreciate fully what this new dimension is and its effects on Paul's conception of the Church, it would be well firstly to review the two sources of Paul's thinking on the Body of Christ, and secondly to indicate some of the events in Paul's own life which most likely contributed to the development and precision of his thought.

With Professor Robinson and Fr. Benoit we can discern two ideas constantly governing Paul's treatment of the Body theme. First of all, because he is a Hebrew writing on religious themes, Paul uses the word "body" not as a neutral element in the body-soul composite of Greek anthropology, but rather as an animated and corporeal person, whose thoughts and desires are contained and revealed under the sensible aspect of bodily experience.⁷ Or to look at it from another viewpoint, because Paul is a Hebrew "he cannot imagine a man without his body, and therefore associates the body with the whole work of man's ultimate salvation."⁸ Using the word "body" in a religious context, the Hebrew mentality includes in that term the whole person, with emphasis on what is sensible and somatic.

The second concept influencing Paul's thought, one quite familiar to the Old Testament, is that of the corporate personality. According to this theory the Semites conceived their nation or community, including its past, present and future members, as a single individual, who could be represented in turn by any one member of the nation. As a result there was frequently a natural oscillation in speech between group and individual, as can be seen for example in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah. Originating most probably from the role of the chief in Israel's tribal life, this concept is most important for understanding Paul's presentation of Christ as the new Adam who died and rose again with vicarious efficacy.⁹

⁵ Cerfaux, op. cit. p. 215. See also the excellent study of the major epistles by Barnabas Mary Ahern, 'The Christian's Union with the Body of Christ in Cor., Gal. and Rom.' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* XXIII (1961), pp. 199-209.

⁶ Benoit, art. cit., pp. 13-18.

⁷ J. A. T. Robinson, op. cit., pp. 26-8; Ahern, art. cit., p. 200.

⁸ Benoit, art. cit., p. 18.

⁹ H. W. Robinson, 'The Hebrew Concept of the Corporate Personality,' *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments*, ed. by J. Hempel, Berlin 1936, pp. 58ff. Also A. Feuillet, *Mort du Christ et mort du Chrétien d'après les épîtres pauliennes*, *Revue Biblique* LXVI (1959), p. 483-7.

These two concepts are quite sufficient for understanding Paul's teaching, nor is it necessary to think of the Body theme as ambiguous or, as some have done, to search for its source in the Persian myth of celestial man.¹⁰ This is not to say that there was no influence on Paul's thought from the doctrine of the Eucharistic Body of Christ. On the contrary, in 1 Cor. 10:17 Paul himself directly grounds the unity of the Church on the Eucharist: "The one bread makes us one body, though we are many in number; the same bread is shared by all." Such an emphasis, moreover, highlights again the intense realism of Paul's consent of "Body of Christ," in so far as the Christian community feeds on the body and blood of Christ, it actually becomes the glorified body of the risen and ascended Christ. But as Robinson points out, there is a jump here from "feeding on" to "becoming" which is taken by no other New Testament writer, all of whom must have been as familiar with the words of institution as Paul himself. The Eucharist, therefore, however significant it may have been for Paul's theology of the Body, is in no sense a full explanation of its development. Some prior experience is necessary to explain the jump in thought just indicated, and this experience Robinson places on the Damascus road. "The appearance on which Paul's whole faith and apostleship was founded was the revelation of the resurrection Body of Christ, not as an individual but as the Christian community."¹¹

With these two main sources of Paul's thought in mind, we may now look briefly at the experiences which Paul himself underwent between the time he wrote Romans, probably in the winter of A.D. 57-58 and his arrival in Rome in the spring of 61, where he was to write the captivity epistles. In the first place, during these years Paul must have been impressed with the phenomenon of the Church, successfully organised in many places under its own hierarchy, yet very consciously united with the mother-church in Jerusalem.¹² Moreover, these were years of suffering and danger and finally imprisonment for Paul. His life was threatened by the Jews at Corinth, Jerusalem and during his more than two years' captivity in Caesarea.¹³ The long journey to Rome, lasting all winter, brought shipwreck off Malta and three months there in hardship and danger.¹⁴ He finally sailed to Puteoli, where there was a Christian community, and came eventually to Rome where he was met and welcomed by the Roman Christians. Such experiences must have impressed on the Apostle the solidarity of all "in Christ" as well as the universality of the Church.

Secondly, judging from Luke's account, Paul's mystical experience must have increased considerably during the whole period which led up to it.

¹⁰ Alfred Wikenhauser, *Die Kirche als der mystische Lieb Christi nach dem Apostel Paulus*, Münster 1940, pp. 232-40. cf. Cerfaux, op. cit. p. 281.

¹¹ J. A. T. Robinson, op. cit., p. 58. This is one of Robinson's most interesting hypotheses.

¹² Acts, chapters 20-28, gives us a picture of well-established communities in many places. In an unpublished text David M. Stanley, S.J., has developed at length the influence of these experiences on the captivity epistles.

¹³ Acts 20:3; 21:27ff; 23:12-21; 25:27.

¹⁴ Acts 28:11.

Roman captivity: he seems to live more continually under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. He goes to Jerusalem on the last journey from Greece "under compulsion by the Spirit" and "in every city the Holy Spirit assures me that imprisonment and persecution are awaiting me."¹⁵ In Jerusalem even some of the scribes and Pharisees sense Paul's intense spiritual life, and in prison he is comforted by a vision of Christ himself.¹⁶ Finally, on the journey to Rome, he prophesies, receives the vision of an angel, prophesies again.¹⁷ All this seems to indicate how deep was Paul's spiritual growth during these years, a growth which, to judge by the captivity letters, had for its object the contemplation of Christ present in his Church.

Paul's thought on the Church in Ephesians is best put in perspective with a word on Colossians, since the two letters are linked so closely. While Paul was captive in Rome, the Church at Colossae began to be threatened by dangerous speculations on the heavenly powers, basically Jewish in origin but highly coloured by Hellenistic philosophy. So much importance was being attributed to these "powers" in their control of the universe and the course of events that the supremacy of Christ would seem to be compromised. The reaction of Paul was instantaneous, almost belligerent. His letter to Colossae asserted with vigour the supremacy of Christ as *Kyrios* over the whole universe. In the famous two-strophied hymn of Col. 1:15-20 Paul went back to the pre-existence of Christ with the Father, in whose image he is the source as well as the instrument and final end of creation. The Incarnation, crowned by the triumph of the Redemption, was seen as placing the human nature of Christ at the head not only of the whole human race but also of the entire created universe, the latter indirectly concerned in the salvation of man as it had been in his fall.¹⁸

It will be noted that the movement of Paul's thought here was the result of a situation which was imposed upon him. He himself did not choose the heavenly spheres as a terrain on which to do battle. Yet in accepting the terms of the contest at Colossae he placed himself on a psychological plane which was to have enormous consequences. For it was on this "celestial" level of thinking that he was soon to compose Ephesians, there to elaborate the full vision of the Church barely hinted at in Colossians.¹⁹

It is surprising that Mgr Cerfaux sees nothing essentially new added to the idea of the Church in Ephesians.²⁰ This is true only in the sense that the full flowering of the thought adds nothing essential to the seed of the idea. For throughout Colossians the perspective is clearly christological. Paul's whole energy is brought to bear on the supremacy of Christ over the heavenly powers. The concept of the Church, on the other hand, is kept well in the background and indeed, in the key text of Col. 1:18, seems to be added only

¹⁵ Acts 20:22-23.

¹⁶ Acts 23:9-11.

¹⁷ Acts 27:1-34.

¹⁸ Benoit, art. cit., pp. 34, 40.

¹⁹ Pierre Benoit, 'L'Horizon Paulinien de l'Épître aux Éphésiens,' *Revue Biblique* XLVI (1937), p. 508.

²⁰ Cerfaux, op. cit., pp. 221-222.

as an afterthought, forced upon Paul by the very vastness of the canvas he is painting. The idea dominating Colossians therefore is one of subordination, with the idea of identification touched upon but left undeveloped. In Ephesians, however, it is precisely this latter notion of identification between Christ and his Church which is rethought under the full light of Paul's spiritual and intellectual maturity.²¹ The perspective now becomes ecclesiological, and one senses immediately an atmosphere of serenity and calm reflection quite absent from the previous letter — as on the field of battle after victory has been won.

But what is of capital importance to recognise is that this ecclesiological perspective of Ephesians is itself situated within a new angle of vision, an angle defined by Benoit in Paul's own phrase: "in the spaces above the earth."²² The errors at Colossae had forced Paul to turn his gaze toward the "powers" that ruled the heavens, and to affirm with full vigour that over them Christ was supreme. Forced by circumstances to think for the first time in these terms and sustained undoubtedly by his own growing mystical experience, Paul's attention focused more and more on heaven and away from earth. When his gaze had finally adjusted itself and he looked back again to the Church on earth from this new point of view, he found that he saw her under a completely new light. Her role in the plan of salvation had obviously not changed, but Paul's angle of vision had. Viewed from heaven, the drama being played out on the vast stage of the cosmos did not look the same as it did when viewed from earth. The scenery was indeed still the same; the lighting was quite different.

It is this change of lighting which must be taken into account. To read Ephesians from the perspective of the major epistles, without allowing for this new angle of vision, tends to produce the odd sensation that the book one is studying is slightly out of focus and that one is somehow seeing double. Initially this can be rather disconcerting and has itself been enough to make many serious exegetes doubt Paul's authorship, but this is another and more complex question. The point being made here is that when Paul looks back from heaven to earth on the members of the Church working out their salvation, he sees them now with a physiognomy quite different from that sketched in his earlier letters. They now appear more clearly distinct from Christ himself and more strongly united among themselves. That which strikes Paul most is the Church's collective unity, and this he begins to vest more and more in the attributes of a living person. The Church is now seen in process of growing and building up toward Christ who watches and directs this growth from his triumphant seat "in the heavens."²³

Does this mean that Paul now wishes to assert a *separation* between Christ and his Church? Quite the contrary. What he is trying to do in Ephesians is

²¹ Benoit, 'L'Horizon Paulinien . . .,' pp. 523-524.

²² Ibid., pp. 511, 513; Eph. 6:12. Also Eph. 1:3; 1:20; 2:6; 3:10. These expressions do not appear in Colossians.

²³ Paul had already hinted at this development in Col. 1:18 and 24; 2:19; 3:1-4.

precisely to preserve that intimate and vital union between Christ and the individual Christian which so dominated his earlier thought, and at one and the same time to express what he now sees from the new angle of vision forced upon him by the Colossian controversy. This is no easy task, and he accomplishes it by a skilful if sometimes laborious deployment of three images, the very ones he had earlier used to emphasise union: those of Body, Temple and Bride. In Ephesians these images play a double role; they emphasise the collective unity of the Church, personified as it were and distinct from the person of Christ, and they serve as well to recall and underline the Church's lack of autonomy, her intimate union with Christ and total dependence upon him for her very being and life.²⁴ Let us see how each of these images accomplishes this double purpose.

Paul first perfects the image of the Body until it is able to express the new physiognomy of the Church which he has discovered. To appreciate what he does, it is important to realise that until now the word "Church" had served almost always as a designation for local communities.²⁵ In the major epistles it had almost never appeared in the ecumenical meaning we take for granted today, that of universal Church, the entire assembly of Christians.²⁶ Originally linked in Paul's mind with the Old Testament concept of "God's People," the term "Church of God" had gradually been applied by him to the individual Churches he had founded. Not until Col. 1:18 did it suddenly take on a strong ecumenical sense, and it did so there as a result of a synthesis of the themes of Head and Body that seem hitherto to have undergone separate developments in Paul's mind.

The Head theme, for example, when it appeared in 1 Cor. 11:2-4, was used to express not the union of Christians with or in Christ but a certain hierarchy of subordination: "head" in the sense of "superior." Thus in 1 Cor. 12:21 the "head" is simply a member of the body and is not identified with Christ at all. The Body theme, on the other hand, had always been used to express the idea of unity which was central to Paul's concept of salvation.²⁷ Through physical contact with the physical Body-Person of Christ through Baptism and the Eucharist, the Christian received as through a channel the life of the Spirit, and so in a very real sense became Christ, his members, his Body. The linking of these two themes of Head and Body, therefore, was natural enough when it occurred for the first time in Col. 1:18. Paul was emphasising the superiority of Christ as Head of the heavenly powers, and there was an easy passage from the use of "head" in the sense of "superior" to its use in the physical sense as Christ himself, Head of his body the Church. The word "head," moreover, when applied to the body, already contained the idea of vital principle and source of nourishment.²⁸

²⁴ Benoit, 'L'Horizon Paulinien . . .', pp. 515-517.

²⁵ Cerfaux, op. cit., pp. 143-157, gives a full treatment of texts.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 241. Benoit ('Corps, Tête . . .', p. 22) finds the ecumenical meaning weakly asserted in three or four early texts, especially 1 Cor. 12:27ff.

²⁷ Cf. 1 Cor. 6:15; 10:17; 12:7-11; Rom. 12:6-8.

²⁸ Benoit, 'Corps, Tête . . .', pp. 23-29. For quite another interpretation see J. A. T. Robinson, pp. 65-67, and Benoit's answer in *Revue Biblique* LXIV (1957), p. 585.

It is in the fourth chapter of Ephesians, however, that one finds the full implications of this linking of the three concepts of Head, Body and Church. At the start of the chapter Paul affirms the collective unity of Christians along with their organic diversity (vv. 3-11), followed by an emphasis on the new idea that the Body of Christ grows and perfects itself. What enables Paul to assert this is precisely his identifying Christ not with the Body but with the Head. The Head does not grow, yet it is from the fullness of perfection already present in him that there comes the vital energy responsible for the Body's growth (vv. 12-16). This distinction between Christ as Head and his Church as Body had never before been made so strongly by Paul, and it illustrates in a most striking way the preoccupation of his thought in Ephesians.²⁹

This is not to say that the intense realism of the Pauline conception of the Body of Christ is in any way lessened. He can still affirm without hesitation that the universal Church is identified with the physical Body of Christ in heaven.³⁰ This he can do because, as Cerfaux points out, the ontological distinction seen from his new angle of vision in no way excludes a "mystical" identification at one and the same time. The physical Body of Christ pours out its life on Christians and these become his Body in the sense that the mystically present cause is attributed to the effect.³¹ The Church quite literally is Christ's Body because she is composed of all Christians who in their material personality are united to the risen Body-Person of Christ and receive through him the new life of the Spirit. It would be vain, says Benoit, even false, to force Paul's terminology here to mean exclusively either Christ's physical Body and Spirit, or his Body the Church, which is his Spirit communicated to men. In Ephesians Paul means both together, indissolubly united: the individual Body of Christ grown to include all Christians united to him in their own bodies through faith and Baptism, with the fullness of the Spirit flowing from the Head down through all the members.³²

What has just been said may be seen more clearly, perhaps, in the perfecting of the second of Paul's images of the Church, that of Temple of God. Never does Paul use this metaphor to describe the Christian's relationship to Christ, but always to God and to the Spirit, and in the earlier letters its chief function was to bring home intimacy of union.³³ In Ephesians, however, it is rather distinction and growth which the image emphasises, both key aspects of Paul's new angle of vision. In chapter two, for example, Christ is already enthroned "above the heavens" and all Christians on earth are

²⁹ Again, there is a hint but no development of this idea in Col. 2:19. Cf. Benoit, 'L'Horizon Paulinien . . .', pp. 359-360.

³⁰ Eph. 1:23 is explicit, while Eph. 5:23 is implicit from the use of 'Church' and 'Body' in a parallelism.

³¹ Cerfaux, op. cit., p. 259. 'To say that the Church is the Body of Christ because the life of grace and the life of Christ are alike is not enough. To say that there is an identity of life and therefore an identity of the Church and the Body is too much.' (ibid., p. 258, n. 4.)

³² Benoit, 'Corps, Tête . . .', p. 21.

³³ 1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16.

mounting up little by little toward him, all the while receiving support from Christ's representatives on earth (vv. 6 and 19-22). On the other hand in chapter four (vv. 12 and 16), where, as we have seen, Paul develops anew the themes of Body and Head, Christ is seen as the key-stone of the Temple, toward which it is slowly rising. Head and key-stone are thus made to correspond in position as well as function, since both give strength and unity while yet remaining distinct from the whole.³⁴

It is interesting to note how this second image of the Church is linked in chapter two with Paul's preoccupation with unity and his effort to underscore the collective aspect of salvation. His earlier synthesis, achieved with such anguish in Romans, is now rethought and fitted into a larger horizon. The mental and visual adjustment necessary from the vantage-point of Ephesians has enabled Paul to see Jew and Gentile united at last and integrated into the heavenly Temple mounting up toward Christ the key-stone. The hateful division existing between them in the past has been blotted out by Christ's blood, which, by reconciling them to each other, has reconciled them to God (vv. 1-19). Salvation for both Jew and Gentile remains, as always for Paul, essentially human and moral, but now it becomes part of a much vaster setting. In Colossians Paul had insisted on a cosmic conception of Christ and the salvation he wrought, and this enables him now to see the Church too on a cosmic plane. Always limited to a group of human beings, she appears nonetheless to guard within herself the destiny of the whole cosmos. It is in this way that the Church, as the risen Body of Christ, becomes extended, as it were, or swelled in Paul's mind to the dimensions of the new universe, "the fullness of him who is filled all in all."³⁵

But Paul has not yet said his last word on the Church. In chapter five, through the moving image of the Bride, he brings to a focus all the disparate rays of his thought and presents us with a synthesis, a fusion of the themes of Head and Body and, implicitly, that of heavenly Temple. This remarkable text on marriage gives an extraordinary expression to the new angle of vision from which Paul views the Church in Ephesians. There is present, first of all, the fundamental idea of "Body of Christ" of which Christians are now "members," and which Christ has incorporated into himself by the purifying action of Baptism (vv. 26 and 30). But this baptismal action and salvation are presented in a collective fashion which gives to the group of Christians a personal quality: it is the "body" which Christ has saved (v. 23) and it is the "Church" which he has baptised (v. 26).

And yet though so clearly attached to Christ as his Body, the Church is nevertheless distinguished from him as "Head." Subject to him always, she becomes the model of that obedience which every wife owes her husband (vv. 23-24). This image of "head" as "superior," however, has a divisive connotation and Paul does not wish to insist upon it. For Christ is also the Sav-

³⁴ Cerfaux, op. cit., p. 260.

³⁵ Eph. 1:23, following Benoit, 'Corps, Tête . . .', pp. 40-44. For a different interpretation see J. A. T. Robinson, pp. 67-70. Cf. also A. Feuillet, 'L'Église plérôme du Christ d'après Eph', *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* LXXVIII (1956), pp. 446-472, 593-610.

iour, who "loved the Church and gave himself up for her," dying in the place of sinners so that he could make them pure and holy by his sacrifice. At this point we should expect Paul to insist once more on the other meaning of "head" as vital principle. But no, he finds this too impersonal to express the closeness of the union, too weak to bear the weight of this gift of love. And so he employs a more striking image, one already found in the Old Testament, that of marriage, and we now see sketched in Paul's richest lines the theme of the Bride of Christ.³⁶

This particular theme, so intimately bound up with that of the Body, had occurred explicitly only once before, though Paul had already twice used the metaphor of sexual union at least implicitly.³⁷ Moreover there is a chance, as Cerfaux says, that the virgin-Church of Ephesians is a personification of the heavenly Temple and the heavenly Jerusalem. Christ delivered himself up for the Church and purified and washed her, just as Yahweh purified Jerusalem and washed away its sins. He loved the Church as Yahweh loved His people in the Old Testament. He desires her to be glorious and holy and without flaw, just as Yahweh wished Jerusalem to be rescued and renewed.³⁸ This image of the Bride is thus far stronger than that of Head-Body, since it contains, in addition to an intimate physical union, a union of hearts which can demand the total gift of oneself. The husband is not only the "head" whom the wife must obey, he is also, and above all, the intimate associate who loves his wife as his own flesh and sacrifices himself for her. This is what Christ has done for the Church which is his Bride (vv. 25-29). In this union, model of all human marriages, there is fully realised and definitively clarified the "mystery" seen by Paul to be present in the opening chapters of Genesis (vv. 31-32).

In these final lines we may be allowed to see the ultimate flowering of Paul's thought on the Church as the Body of Christ. This thought, we have found, underwent a profound development between the period of the major epistles and the writing of Ephesians. One key to this development is very likely Paul's growing mystical experience. Yet this alone might never have sufficed were it not for the new angle of vision forced upon him by the Colossian controversy. It is this which enabled him to look down from "the spaces above the earth" and to see the Church at one and the same time identified with the risen Body of Christ yet clearly distinct from him. This new vision he communicates to his readers by a skilful transformation of three images in such a way that he preserves intact his prior vision of intimate union.

With Benoit we may summarise Paul's deployment of these images by picturing a diptych, the two panels of which are heaven and earth, the two personages, Christ and his Church.³⁹ On the one side is Christ, seated triumphantly in heaven as Head of the Church, communicating to his Body the

³⁶ Benoit, 'Corps, Tête . . .', p. 28.

³⁷ 2 Cor. 11:12 is explicit; 1 Cor. 6:16-17 and Rom. 7:4 are implicit.

³⁸ Cerfaux, op. cit., pp. 263-264.

³⁹ Benoit, 'L'Horizon Paulinien . . .', pp. 517-518.

life of the Spirit necessary for its growth. From here he constructs the heavenly Temple of God, of which he is the keystone. More than that, he loves and cherishes the Church as a man does his wife, delivers himself up for her at the time of their marriage and thus saves and purifies her and renders her immaculate.

On the other panel is the Church saved by his blood, a single Body with him, subject to him as a wife to her husband. Yet all the while the Church herself is in process of growth and development, as a body nourished by its head, as a spiritual edifice rising up toward heaven, to become at last "the fullness of Him who is filled all in all." It should be noted that each of these three images is linked in turn not only with the word "Church" used in an ecumenical sense, but also with the Person of Christ, thus showing the degree to which Paul's theology of the Church is simply an extension of his Christology. The images are likewise imposed one upon the other, a veil being lifted each time, as it were, revealing a new depth in the total mystery. And at every step too there are those expressions of wonder and love, so characteristic of mystical experience, which culminate at last in the image of the Bride, the ultimate development of Paul's thought on the relationship between Christ and his Church.

THE MYSTERY REVEALED TO PAUL IN 'EPHESIANS' 3:1-13

Mother Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J.

Solemnity and reverence mark the first half of the Epistle to the Ephesians. According to the fine custom of his day, Paul opens his letter with a few words of gratitude for the welfare of his readers. Here, however, the introductory prayer is expanded to provide the framework for the first three chapters. It begins with a heartfelt hymn of thanksgiving (1:3-14) and closes with a doxology acknowledging God's infinite power (3:20-21).

Throughout this section Paul never forgets that he is offering a prayer to God, yet three times he pauses to develop more fully a thought that has occurred to him. These parentheses overflow with adoring gratitude to God and are woven into the prayer in such a way as to make them integral but distinct parts. The passage we are considering is one of these parentheses (1:19-2:10; 2:11-22; 3:1-13). To it may be applied words that are true of the whole epistle: It is "a meditation on wisdom as found in the mystery of Christ" (Schlier).

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Having recalled in chapter 2 that this wisdom is expressed in the magnificence of Christ's work and the splendor of the Church, Paul resumes his prayer in the first verse of our passage, but it immediately occurs to him that his readers may wonder why he now champions a cause he once persecuted and how he can claim special insight into doctrines that were once anathema to him. So he stops to explain that this mystery was revealed to him in a special manner (3:1-6) and that he was chosen expressly to carry it to the Gentiles (3:14-21). Let us now examine the digression.

For this reason I, Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus for the sake of you, the Gentiles . . . (3:1).

The sentence is left unfinished until verse 14. Paul apparently is about to tell his readers that he is "bowed in prayer" that they may more fully appreciate the graces offered them in the Church, but he interrupts his thought to justify his right to preach this mystery to them. Surely, he argues, his imprisonment gives him this privilege, for it was incurred because of this mystery. This was literally true; he was in chains because of his apostolate to the Gentiles and the consequent riot in the Jerusalem Temple (Acts 21:28). Had he restricted his labors to his own people, they might have rejected him, but they would not have treated him so shamefully that at this moment he would be imprisoned in Rome and on trial for his life. There is, however, another level on which we can understand his words. He calls himself "the prisoner of Christ Jesus."

Is this an allusion to the moment when Christ made him His captive and gave him the grace of conversion as the persecutor of Christians journeyed along the road to Damascus? Paul once told the Philippians that he had not yet attained his ideal and was far from perfect, but that he was still seeking to capture this goal, just as he himself had been captured by Jesus Christ (Phil. 3:12).

Or is he disregarding the role played by human agents in bringing about his imprisonment and looking higher? In this perspective he sees that he is the prisoner of Christ, the Anointed One of Israel, the prisoner of Jesus the Savior of the world. It is by the Lord's will and for the Lord's cause that he is in bonds, and he accepts all his sufferings for the sake of the Gentiles. Does this not entitle him to speak to them? Moreover, he assumes that they have been told the story of his conversion —

For I suppose you have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God that was given to me in your regard (3:2).

There are two ways of considering the first few words of this verse. Scholars who believe that the epistle was written to Ephesian Christians well known to Paul as a result of his three-year stay in their midst find in his "I suppose" a politely rhetorical way of alluding to what he knows they already know. Yet the impersonal tone of the whole letter, the absence of personal allusions, the presence of other hints that he is addressing strangers (cf. 1:15; 4:21), suggest that this is a doctrinal treatise presented in an open letter and

that the words "to the saints in Ephesus" were later added to the introductory salutation. According to this theory, he here refers to himself as one known to his readers only by reputation, saying equivalently: "No doubt when the message of the gospel was brought to you, you learned of the great responsibility that was entrusted to me to administer the divine grace for your best interests."

Paul uses a significant word in this sentence, "dispensation" or "administration." Actually, *oikonomia* (a word dear to Polybius) is composed of two parts: *oikos*, "house," and *nomos*, "management." It appears in English as "economy," i.e., the policy or system or mode of operation for the direction of something to an end. More specifically it refers to God's plan for the government of the world. Here Paul is thinking in terms of its original meaning: the management of a house. Just as a wise master assigns different tasks to his servants, so God is thought to distribute His grace in such a way that each one can best carry out his charge.

There is a passage in another epistle that throws light on this verse. In First Corinthians 12, Paul describes how the spirit gives each member of the Church a separate gift. Some of these gifts are more spectacular than others, but all come from God and all enable their recipients to serve the community. The gift given to one is for the benefit of all. It is in this light that he looks upon his vocation to carry the message of salvation to the Gentiles. Like the steward in Jesus' parable (Luke 12:42ff), Paul has been allotted this responsibility in the Church of God. He then explains how this was done.

By revelation was made known to me the mystery, as I have written above in brief (3:3).

For this mission to the Gentiles, he declares he was well prepared by God, who revealed this divine secret to him. When, we may ask, was this revelation made? Was it at the moment of his conversion? In his epistles Paul makes four allusions to this great grace, and there are three accounts in Acts describing this turning-point in his life. One of the thoughts frequently stressed in these passages is that his call to the faith brought with it the call to be an apostle (cf. Rom. 1:1) and that he is meant to carry "the Name" to the Gentiles (Acts 26:15).

What is the "mystery" that was revealed to Paul? In the Church this word has acquired a liturgical and cultic value. In the New Testament it is a technical theological term with messianic and eschatological overtones. In the Old Testament it is found (with its synonyms) only in the late books (Tobit, Judith, Daniel) of the Greek Bible. There it corresponds to the Aramaic word for "something secret" (*raz*) or to the Hebrew word (*sod*) for the "heavenly assembly" or the "decisions reached at the assembly." This word was also used at Qumran and by the Gnostics and devotees of the mystery religions of Paul's day. A few verses later he is going to explain the exact value he attaches to this chameleon-like word, but here he merely refers his readers to what he has already written on this subject.

SULLIVAN: *The Mystery Revealed to Paul: Eph 3:1-13*

In his letter to the Romans he equated the "mystery" with the gospel which he calls "the good news which heralds Jesus the Messiah" (16:2). To the Corinthians he wrote that this message is a "stumbling-block" to Jews, an "absurdity" to the Gentiles, but to those who believe, both Jews and Gentiles, the "power and wisdom of God" (1 Cor. 1:23f). Only to the spiritually mature (3:1) can Paul, the "steward of God's mysteries" (1 Cor. 4:1), convey something of this revelation, long hidden (Col. 1:26), now revealed (Eph. 1:9).

Paul wishes his readers to examine the evidence his own epistles afford so that they will realize that anyone who has understood so much about God's hidden plans must surely be inspired and therefore conclude that Paul is qualified to preach to them. He then thinks of another way in which they can convince themselves.

... and by reading you can perceive how well versed I am in the mystery of Christ (3:4).

If they read with care what he has written, they will surely see that he not merely repeating formulas and handing them on to his disciples. In fact if they continue this "reading" and go to the Bible, they will find the background for a fuller understanding of "mystery."

The prophets had familiarized the people with the idea of God's secrets, especially those connected with the divine plan for the government of the world: "Indeed, Yahweh-God does nothing without revealing his plan to his servants the prophets" (Amos 3:7). The Deutero-Isaiah taught that the history of Israel is the fulfillment in time of a divine plan that was to be completed hereafter (Is. 41:21-28).

One of the valuable lessons of the book of Daniel is that "there is a God in heaven who reveals secrets... and he who reveals secrets makes known to you what shall be" (2:27-29). The prophet is not only given a vision, but an explanation of the future of the history of the world is also provided. In this way the words of Amos are fulfilled and the secrets of the heavenly council are brought to men.

The books of Wisdom continue and develop this theme (Sir. 48:24-25; Wis. 6:22). Their authors seem well aware of the existence of mysteries in pagan cults and had no doubt read some of the apocryphal apocalypses, e.g., Enoch, Ezra, Baruch, etc. Jews of the first century before Christ could have found further references to mystery in the literature of Qumran, but present evidence suggests that to the sectarians the understanding of mystery was reserved to "the perfect" and consisted largely of knowledge of the mysteries of good and evil, the divine plan for Israel and the nature of the Law.

All this would provide ample Semitic background-reading for Paul's disciples. To understand all the resonances of the word "mystery," there would have been no need for them to seek parallels in the Greek mystery religions of the day.

The word, therefore, was one they knew well. Paul now goes on to clarify its meaning according to the revelation given to him:

... that mystery which in other ages was not known to the sons of men, as now it has been revealed to this holy apostles and prophets in the spirit (3:5).

Some find this reference to the "holy apostles and prophets" disturbing. Is this not proof, they ask, that Paul never wrote the epistle? Surely he would never have made so flattering an allusion to a group of which he was a member. This objection loses its force when we recall that in his day the adjective lacked the moral connotation it now enjoys. "Holy" then meant consecration rather than the possession of heroic virtue.

Another misunderstanding has arisen in regard to the allusion to the prophets. These could well denote first-generation Christians who enjoyed charismatic gifts. Like the apostles, they received the revelation of the divine plan, became the foundation-stones of the Church (Eph. 2:20), and heralded the good news of salvation (Rom. 12:6; 1 Cor. 12:28). Might there not also be a reference to the Old Testament prophets? Isaiah, we were told, foresaw secret things and mysteries "that are to come to pass at last" (Sir. 48:25-27), and Daniel's experience with mysteries was quite extensive.

In fact, Paul restates this truth in the great doxology that is the crown and close of Romans (16:25-27). With majestic gravity he sums up the special aspect of the gospel that he has made the theme of the epistle: the life of Jesus and His salvific work are the revelation of God's mysterious plan hidden from the beginning, confided to and proclaimed by prophets and apostles, who thus fulfill God's merciful will. The revelation of Jesus certainly was new, yet "eyes enlightened by faith" (Eph. 1:18) can trace its pattern in prophetic Old Testament passages.

This verse marks an interesting advance in Paul's use of the word "mystery." In Second Thessalonians and First Corinthians he had identified it with "something secret" and God's "hidden wisdom"; in Romans he equates it with Christ. This provides the necessary foundation for the deeper meaning of mystery which he now gives.

... namely that the Gentiles are joint heirs, fellow-members of the same body and joint partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel (3:6).

This then, is the revelation of God's eternal purpose: the Gentiles are now co-heirs (*synekleronomos*) of an inheritance to which they had no claim by birth, co-members (*syssomos*) with the Jews in the living unity of the Body of Christ, co-sharers (*symmetochos*) of the covenant-promises from which they had once been excluded (Eph. 2:12). These three words compounded with the prefix *syn-* show that the Gentiles are incorporated into the new Israel and are grafted to the olive tree so as to make the mystery visible in the Church. All this has been realized in Jesus and announced in the gospel.

These words acquire their full value when seen in the light of the theme of the epistle. Jesus came to restore unity to a disunited world by reuniting all things to Himself. He began this work of reconciliation by destroying the division that long separated Jew and Gentile, and by establishing the Church,

through which this work of reconciliation can extend through space and continue through time. Here is the key to the divine plan of unity.

The reference to the gospel reminds Paul of the grandeur and limits of his ministry. He continues:

Of that gospel I was made a minister by the gift of God's grace, which was given to me in accordance with the working of his power (3:7).

As before, he stresses the help God has given him. His ministry was determined in two ways: by the original gift of divine grace and by the continuous support of divine power. Others may have received greater gifts and rendered greater services, but he has tried to be faithful to his own stewardship of the mystery. There is here an interesting allusion to the resurrection: the divine power by which Christ was raised from the dead (Eph. 1:19-23) is the same power that enables the Apostle to accomplish God's will for the Gentiles:

Yes, to me, the very least of all the saints, there was given this grace, to announce among the Gentiles the good tidings of the unfathomable riches of Christ (3:8).

The thought of the magnitude of the mystery that he is called to proclaim and of the limitless wealth of Christ's redemptive grace reminds Paul of his own inadequacy and unworthiness. To the Corinthians he acknowledged that he was the least of the apostles (1 Cor. 15:9); to Timothy he admits that he is, of all sinners, the chief (1 Tim. 1:15); here he uses (perhaps coins) a double superlative or a comparative grafted on a superlative, which may perhaps be a pun on his own name (*paullus*, little), and with characteristic humility declares that he is "less than the least" of all those dedicated to God's service.

It is instructive to watch this double effect of apostolic experience on Paul. Preaching the gospel has convinced him more and more of his own unworthiness and disclosed to him the ever-widening dimensions of the gospel's power, centered in and emanating from the Person and work of Christ (Col. 1:27; 2:2). When writing to the Romans he used the same adjective to describe the unsearchable, inexhaustible wonder of the ways of God with Jew and Gentile (11:33). The use of the word here is appropriate and reminds him of his obligation

to enlighten all men as to what is the dispensation of the mystery which has been hidden from all eternity in God who created all things (3:9).

Paul recalls that God created all things as a unity, that this unity was disrupted by sin, then further corrupted by the idolatry and immorality of men who were aided and abetted in their wickedness by the forces of evil. Then, according to Paul, who again employs the word which means literally the "management of a house" and here has the value of "wise purposefulness," God's hidden plan began to take shape. The course of history has been so ordered that this plan will be accomplished by Christ. As Canon Cerfaux has succinctly said in *Christ in the Theology of Saint Paul* (p. 423): "Christ's

work will consist in restoring this primitive unity, in establishing once again what had been in the beginning. This new-found unity will be ecumenical (Jew and pagan again will be reunited), cosmic (the Powers will be stripped of their dominion over the cosmos and over men), and eschatological (the re-establishment of this unity will mark the birth of the new world). There is parallelism, but not equivalence, between the restored unity and the primordial unity, for the primordial unity belongs to the old world and came from Christ who created it. The second unity belongs to the new and definitive world and comes from the risen Christ who is our Saviour."

St. Irenaeus explored this mystery of re-establishment or recapitulation. He saw it as the mystery of salvation foreseen by the Father, accomplished by the Son during His incarnation and to be perfected by Him at the parousia: When (the Son of God) became incarnate and was made man, He summed up in Himself the long line of men, and gave us salvation instantly and comprehensively, so that what we had lost in Adam (namely, to be according to the image and likeness of God) we might recover in Christ Jesus (*Adv. Haer.* 3, 18, 1).

It is from the risen Jesus that this fullness of power will reach all creation, and He who enjoys the primacy and is the origin of the visible and invisible world will unify all that is and all that will be. This is the meaning of Christ's incarnation. The father sent the Son to the world

in order that through the Church there be made known to the Principalities and Powers in the heavens the manifold wisdom of God according to the eternal purpose which he accomplished in Christ Jesus our Lord (3:10-11).

From these verses we see that Paul's apostolate means more than the exposition of the universality of the mystery, more than the winning of new converts; it also means that as the Church grows through his efforts, God's wisdom will be more and more manifest — even to the demons in the skies. The allusion to these members of the demonic hordes gives a glimpse of another world and serves as a corrective to our inveterate centripetal and myopic tendencies.

The hiddenness of divine mysteries is a recurrent theme in Jewish apocalyptic texts and the importance of spirits in Semitic thought has been confirmed by the many references to spirit forces in the Qumran texts. To the angels, it was generally believed, not everything had been revealed. The fallen angels seem to have been unaware of the divine plan. The good angels could watch with wonder the unfolding in time of the mystery that all things are summed up in Christ. To describe this divine wisdom, Paul uses a rare and poetical adjective, *polypoikilos*, "many-colored," "richly wrought," "dappled," "multiple-dimensioned." It is difficult to find any words that are able to convey the variety, the many-faceted beauty of the manifestation in the world of nature and in the history of men of the infinite wisdom of God who is the center and circumference of all that is and whose plan for the world is fulfilled in Christ. This means, Paul goes on to say, that

in him we have assurance and confident access through faith in him (3:12).

Paul never loses sight of the needs of souls, so he returns from thoughts of the working of divine wisdom in time and space to the comforting realization of all that faith in Christ can mean for him and for his readers. Complete trust placed in our risen Savior means that we can enjoy the full liberty of a free and fearless approach to God. *Parrhesia* usually denotes frank and forthright speech. It is the privilege of fully expressing one's own mind that was vigorously defended by the citizens of the Greek city-states. It is perfect communion between man and the Creator, between man and creation. Adam conversing familiarly with God in the garden of paradise enables us to see the friendly intimacy which should characterize our dialogue with life and Life. It is the incommunicable experience in which we are linked with Love and with all that Love loves.

This grasp of reality has enabled Paul to accept with joy the personal inconveniences of his apostolate to the Gentiles and it is the fullness of this consolation that he wishes his readers to share.

Therefore I pray you not to be disheartened at my tribulations for you, for they are your glory (3:13).

Paul began this long digression with an allusion to his imprisonment; before resuming his interrupted prayer, he again speaks as "a prisoner of Christ." True, his apostolate has brought him suffering, but this is no indication that God does not love him. On the contrary. Paul rejoices that his imprisonment is a means of exercising another form of ministry for his readers. As he had written to the Colossians, his sufferings enable him "to fill up what is wanting to the tribulations of Christ" (1:24). To describe Christ's sufferings and his own, he here uses the same word. That the sufferings of Christ's people are the sufferings of the Messiah, Paul had been told on the road to Damascus; now it is his privilege to share in these sufferings. Is there not ample reason for his readers to glory?

Turning from thoughts of the scope and nature of his mission, he recalls the wonderful opportunities offered to his readers. He knows that their own experience will afford them new insights into the mystery of the wisdom that is Christ. This he makes the theme of the conclusion of his long-interrupted prayer.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE UNIVERSE

Stanislas Lyonnet, S.J.

Redemption as the term is used by St. Paul, implies above all the redemption of man. As a matter of fact, it implies almost exclusively the redemption of man. At times, however, Paul's redemptive horizon broadens to embrace the

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whole of creation, the classic instance of which is chapter eight of the epistle to the Romans.

It is this passage which we would like to examine here, and we are the first to admit the difficulties involved. The chief problem is the obscurity of the Apostle's expression, giving rise for centuries now to variant exegetical interpretations. Even today agreement is far from universal. Yet such difficulties must not keep us from the truths which the Apostle clearly intended to expound to the Romans, and which he would undoubtedly apply to the twentieth century Christian — especially since Paul's teaching of a cosmic redemption is more pertinent today than at any other moment in history.

Paul begins his eighth chapter in Romans with a reference to the fifth. He restates his doctrine of the Christian life whose vital principle is the working of the Holy Spirit in us: a life of peace as befits those already reconciled with him and certain of a definitive salvation already possessed in hope. Yet though reconciled, humanity is not exempt from suffering and death. Far from establishing an obstacle to our hope, suffering and death are rather, in the words of the Apostle, "*conditiones optima*" (5:3-4), and to such a degree that in chapter eight he draws from them a new motive for hope (8:17ff).

Taking a closer look at the passage, we find that Paul says that if "we suffer with Christ we shall also be glorified with him." He continues: "For I think that the sufferings of the present time are not to be compared to the glory which is to be revealed in us. Indeed, creation, filled with expectation, awaits the revelation of the sons of God: if creation was made subject to vanity — and not by its own choice but because of him who made it subject — it is with the hope that creation itself be liberated from the servitude of corruption to enter into the freedom of the glory of the children of God. For we know that all creation groans in the pains of childbirth until today. And not only it; we ourselves who possess the first fruits of the Spirit, we groan within ourselves in the expectation of the redemption of our body."¹

¹ Among the recent studies devoted to this passage of the epistle to the Romans, see in particular A. Viard, "Expectatio creaturae" in *Revue Biblique*, 69 (1952), pp. 331-354, and A. M. Dubarle, "Le gemissement des créatures dans l'ordre du Cosmos" in *Revue des Sciences phil. et théol.*, 38 (1954), pp. 445-465.

With regard to the timeliness and importance of the problem, permit us to cite this reflection of M. Blondel which is taken from the *Correspondance M. Blondel-A. Valensin*, vol. 1, p. 47: "The problem of the Incarnation seems to me . . . (perhaps antecedent to any other philosophical question) to be the touchstone for a true cosmology in an integral metaphysics . . . I share the ideas and sentiments of P. Teilhard de Chardin with regard to the problems of Christology. Before horizons enlarged by the natural and human sciences, one cannot, without a betrayal of Catholicism, be content with mediocre explanations and limited viewpoints which make a historical accident of Christ, which isolate him in the cosmos as an unrelated incident and which seem to make of him an intruder, not one at home, in the overwhelming and hostile immensity of the universe. Long before Loisyism . . . I recognized with intense clarity the alternative: either fall back on a dead symbolism, or advance toward an integral realism which would put Christian metaphysics in accord with the mysticism lived by the saints and the faithful themselves . . . We are drawn towards the "*instauratio tota in Christo*" . . . Let us advance then without hesitation, in that direction in which as we grow in our appreciation of man and the world,

Confronted by language so profound, the hearer might protest that the Apostle's creative imagination has carried him away, that he has forsaken the solid ground of dogma and theology to indulge in exalted but illusory dreams of poetic fancy. In the case of Paul such a hypothesis is, *a priori*, hardly tenable. Rather, is not the hearer at fault? Possibly he lacks the insight to understand the metaphorical element of Paul's language.

We shall answer this question in the second section of our paper by examining the objective context of the Apostle's affirmation. But first it would be well to place Paul's statements in their proper context, the biblical context. And then it will remain for us to show briefly in a third section how the Christian future, far from turning Christians away from their present task, both justifies and transfigures it.

I

In refutation to the reproach of poetic flight, Paul could repeat what he previously had said to the procurator Portius Festus, who had been scandalized to hear a man of good judgment such as Paul preaching the resurrection of Christ in the presence of King Agrippa: "I am not mad, excellent Festus, but I speak words of truth and sound sense" (Acts 26:25).

Then Paul appealed to the King himself. Though strange and incomprehensible to the ears of a pagan like Festus, Paul's statements could not surprise a Jew like King Agrippa, who was at home with the Scriptures. "For the king knows about these things and to him I speak with complete confidence" (v. 26). "Do you believe the prophets, King Agrippa? I know that you do!" (v. 27). To modern readers the Apostle poses the same question: "Do you believe in the prophets?" If so: "Reread what they have proclaimed and my teaching will cease to seem an enigma to you."

In our specific problem, in fact in regard to all of Pauline theology, it is important never to lose sight of the fact that Paul was a Jew for whom the Old Testament was and remained the Book par excellence. The Apostle spoke excellent Greek, but he thought essentially in the categories of the Jews of his day.

A Jew brought up on the Scriptures would always be acutely aware of the unity of the redemptive plan. The history of salvation which the Bible recounts is not presented to the Jew as a series of distinct and separate episodes, but rather as the realization of a single plan of love. True, the plan unfolds itself in history and progressively so; but it is of one piece. The unity of this plan can be demonstrated by the fact that the Bible sums up its successive stages in a single word: alliance, *berit*, which the Greek Septuagint translates

so much more will Christ grow in our minds and hearts." Blondel remarks further in the same work (p. 48) that it is indispensable "to indicate clearly and with increased force the absolute transcendence of the divine gift, the inevitably supernatural character of the deifying design, and as a consequence the moral transformation and the spiritual expansion which grace permits and which it must accomplish." On this *Correspondance*, see J. Levie in *Nouvelle revue théologique*, 91 (1959), pp. 1073-1081.

as *diateke*, "the Testament" — undoubtedly to lay the accent upon the divine initiative.

In the Old Testament the alliance between God and Israel was not a treaty between two equals, but rather and above all the gift of God to a people whom he had freely singled out, not through any merit on their part, but as Deuteronomy recalls, "out of love for them and to keep the oath made to their fathers" (Deut. 7:8). More significant yet, the oath made to Abraham, which was the basis for the alliance of Sinai, was itself called an "alliance," a "testament." This alliance was irrevocable, as would be the messianic alliance made on behalf of David, according to Psalm 88: "Forever will I continue my kindness to him, and my alliance shall stand firm with him. . . . I will not violate my alliance nor change the utterance of my lips. Once have I sworn by my holiness: I will never lie to David" (vv. 29-36).

Finally, the definitive realization of God's salvific plan in the "last times" is also referred to as an "alliance," or a "testament." The book of Isaiah in the second and third parts makes more than one allusion to it. Jeremiah described it explicitly as a "new alliance" (31:33), and Christ was to use this term at the Last Supper to proclaim formally the continuity and the unity of the "Two Testaments."

Further, the Bible speaks of an alliance prior to Abraham — a universal alliance established by God with mankind in the person of Noah after the whole of humanity had been re-created in the cataclysm of the deluge. This alliance extended beyond the human world and in some way embraced the material universe as well.

We read in chapters eight and nine of Genesis: "I will no more curse the earth because of man . . . never again will I destroy living things as I have done. So long as the earth lasts, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, night and day, shall not cease" (Gen. 8:21-22). "Behold I have established my alliance with you, and with your descendants; and with every living being among you, all that has come forth out of the ark, all the living things of the earth. I have established my alliance with you: never again will all flesh be destroyed by the waters of the flood, nor shall there be from henceforth a flood to lay waste to the earth" (Gen. 9:9-11).

The sign of this alliance was not inscribed in the flesh of man by circumcision, as was the case with Abraham, but rather in the universe, in the broad heavens, so as to signify that the alliance with Noah was not limited to any one part of the created world, but embraced its totality. "This is the sign of the alliance which I place between me and you and all living beings among you from generation unto generation: I set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be the sign of alliance between me and the earth" (Gen. 9:12-13).

Thus after the cataclysm of the deluge, the punishment for man's sin, the physical universe regained its equilibrium, its harmony, its rhythm — precisely that of which the creation narrative spoke. Certainly the solemn declaration of Gen. 8:22: "So long as the earth lasts . . . summer and winter, night and day, shall not cease" evokes the words of Gen. 1:3-5: "God divided the

light and the darkness. And there was evening and there was morning . . ." Similarly the promise of Gen. 8:21: "I will no more curse the earth because of man" recalls the words of Gen. 3:17: "Cursed is the earth because of you."

Confronted by this spectacle of the harmony of the *kosmos*, the Greek was struck above all by a beauty which delighted his eyes as well as his mind, while the Israelite, "instructed by the Scriptures," first encountered the sign of a God faithful to his plan of love. Jeremiah, for instance, expressly compared the alliance with David to the alliance with heaven and earth (Jer. 33: 20, 25). Perhaps this was also what the Psalmist was thinking of when he proclaimed that "the heavens declare the glory of God" and devoted the second half of his psalm to praising the gift of the Law: "*Lex Domini immaculata*." It is, in any event, the image Paul created for the pagan peasants of Lystra by reminding them that "God has not failed to give witness to himself by his kindnesses, giving you rains and fruitful seasons from heaven, filling your hearts with food and gladness" (Acts 14:16-17; cf. Ps. 103).

Moreover, for the Israelite, the history of salvation did not begin only with Abraham or Noah, nor even with Adam. It began with creation itself. This was its first act. Thus, to cite but one example, in Psalm 135, recounting this "history of salvation" in the form of "litanies" with the refrain "for his great love is without end," the Psalmist began with the work of creation: "He alone spread out the earth upon the waters . . . He made the great lights . . . the sun to rule over the day . . . the moon and the stars to rule over the night. . . ." Then, without any transition, follow the "historical" benefits on behalf of Israel which the Bible terms precisely the "unspeakable works" of God: "He smote Egypt in her first-born . . . brought forth Israel from her midst . . . He divided the sea of rushes into two parts . . ." (v. 4-13).

In this regard, the extra-canonical Jewish tradition outdid the biblical tradition itself, if one may so express it, and in its attempt to emphasize still more the unity of the history of salvation it intentionally fixed its various stages on the same calendar day. So, according to the book of Jubilees, the sacrifice of Isaac was set on the 15th of Nisan, the same day on which the Pasch would later be celebrated. I will cite only one particularly significant example of this typical process. It deals fittingly with the feast of the Pasch.

According to Exodus, the Pasch commemorates a single event: "the night during which Jahweh had watched over his people to bring them forth from the land of Egypt" (Exod. 12:42). The Palestinian Targum, the more or less paraphrastic translation of the Hebrew text into the current Aramaic, offers an extremely informative gloss on this section. It is not just a single night which this feast celebrates. Rather it is four nights which sum up, as we shall see, the whole history of salvation.

The first night is that on which the Word of God appeared in order to create the world. (For us Christians the anniversary of the creation of the world is Sunday, the first day of the week, that day on which Christ rose, as the breviary hymn has it: *Primo die quo Trinitas Beata mundum condidit, vel quo resurgens Conditor nos, morte victa, liberat.*) The second night commemo-

rates the time when the Word of God made an alliance with Abraham and promised him the birth of a son in whom all the nations of the earth would be blessed; another tradition of the Targum even adds the commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac, that is, his "spiritual birth," which, in fact, according to the book of Jubilees, took place on the 15th of Nisan. The third night is that during which the Word of the Lord, striking the first-born of the Egyptians, delivered Israel from bondage in order to constitute Israel the first-born son of God. The fourth night is not of the past, but of the future, when the messianic king will come on the clouds to preside at the definitive redemption of Israel.

Four nights, four births: birth of the universe, birth of Israel, birth of the new world, birth of the "new heavens" and the "new earth," according to the expression of Isaiah (65:17) taken up again in the Apocalypse (21:1) and the second epistle of St. Peter (3:13).

One can readily see how, for a Jew "instructed in the Scriptures," the history of the universe was a part of the history of salvation. Created for man, the universe in some way shares his destiny. Just as the execution of the first alliance with Noah had cosmic implications so the eschatological alliance will necessarily have its impact on the whole of creation.

But what were as yet only more or less vague suggestions — differently interpreted by the Jewish doctors themselves — was to become in Paul a clearly defined doctrine. The resurrection of Christ would bring together bits of truth until then dispersed throughout the Old Testament. On the road to Damascus Saul the Jew, disciple of Gamaliel, encountered the risen Christ. His eyes opened under the guidance of the Spirit, the Apostle saw written, as it were, in the splendor of Christ's glorified body, the destiny to which God invited not only every human person but even the entire universe.

This we will now show by determining in as precise a manner as possible, the exact meaning of the Apostle's teachings in Rom. 8:17-23.

II

It seems possible to disengage from these verses at least a threefold doctrine, which, for clarity's sake, can be formulated in the following propositions: (1) The redemption of the universe is only a consequence of the redemption of man; (2) It is, more precisely, a consequence of the redemption of man's body; (3) Yet the universe is not simply an instrument of man's redemption — it is itself an object of redemption.

1. The redemption of the universe, a consequence of the redemption of man

Without a shadow of doubt this affirmation emerges from the whole of the Apostle's argumentation in the present passage: the redemption of the universe can only be conceived in connection with the redemption of man. The

latter is primary from any point of view. Unlike some more or less gnostic representations of contemporaries who thought man would be freed from matter because God would transport him to a new universe, for Paul, as for the Bible, it is precisely because man is saved that he can draw the whole universe after him into this salvation. Already in the Old Testament man is at the center of the universe; all the more is this true of the New Testament since we know that God has deigned to take up residence among us.

The bold proclamation of this fundamental doctrine by the new religion was the more commendable since it directly contradicted some of the most profound tendencies of Greek philosophy. One recalls the jeers of Celsus which Origen has preserved for us in his *Contra Celsum*. Celsus compares Christians "to moths swarming about at night, to ants filing out from their hill, or to frogs leaving their pond and saying: 'We are those to whom God has foretold everything and revealed all things to come; and overlooking the whole cosmos and the course of the stars, neglecting even this immense earth, he communicates his designs for the world to us, and us alone. To us alone has he sent his heralds, and sends them even now, solicitous as he is of uniting us to him eternally.'"

"Truly," gibes Celsus, "we are like little grub worms who cry out: 'God exists, and of a sudden we have become completely like God. To us he has subjected everything — the earth, water, air, stars. Everything exists for us and has received the command to serve us. And, because some have sinned, God will come or will send his Son to consume the impious in flames, and to lead us, the others, into eternal life with him.' " "Such language," adds Celsus, "would be somewhat more tolerable on the part of worms or frogs than on the part of Jews and Christians" (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4, 23; PG 11, 1060).

Such words are not to be taken as said simply in jest. Rather we are here confronted by one of the most typical reactions of the Greek spirit to the central dogma of Christianity. One hundred and fifty years later, the philosopher Plotinus expressed himself with no less vigor, and a Plotinist like Bréhier does not hesitate to describe this declamation as "one of the most beautiful and haughty reactions of Hellenic rationalism to the religious individualism which was overrunning the Greco-Roman world during this epoch." Here Bréhier is certainly referring to Christianity, in particular to the central place it allots the human person. He continues: "Plotinus does not attack the details of Christian belief — this he leaves to two of his dearest disciples, Amelius and Porphyry; he himself goes straight to its principle, i.e. the exaltation of the believer who relates everything to his own salvation. In opposition to this Plotinus upholds the ancient Hellenic tradition according to which the true end of man consists in understanding his place in the system of realities and not in assigning the first place to himself."²

Bréhier has in mind here the treatise of Plotinus *Against the Gnostics* (II ch. 9). It is clear enough that Plotinus is alluding to Christians: those "sense-

² Plotin-Ennéades, texte établi et traduit par E. Bréhier, vol. IV, pp. 107-10.

less men who let themselves be persuaded when they hear words such as these: You will be superior to all things, above men as well as gods (i.e., stellar deities). How great is presumption among men! Once they were humble, modest, and simple people of the world; now they give heed to the words: You are a son of God; the others whom you admired so much are not sons of God — not even the stars to whom tradition bids us offer homage. You have become without effort superior to heaven itself!" (II, 9,9).

"These men pretend," says Plotinus elsewhere, "that Providence works uniquely in their favor . . . But Providence watches over the All rather than over the parts, and the soul of the All receives this guidance much more than the parts . . . Who of these senseless ones who think themselves to be above wisdom, enjoys the wondrous order and wisdom of the universe?" (II, 9, 16). Plotinus then invites them to contemplate "the beauties of the visible world, its proportions, its harmony and the spectacle which the stars offer in spite of their distance" (*ibid.*).

Yet, even at the risk of giving scandal to cultured Hellenistic minds, Paul makes no allowance for such a conception. If he speaks of a redemption of the universe, he conceives of it only in dependence on that of man.

2. The redemption of the universe as a consequence of the redemption of man's body

The redemption of the universe is in Paul's thought essentially a corollary of the resurrection of the body and consequently is based, like it, on the fact of the resurrection of Christ.

At the beginning of this chapter Paul explains that Christ, in virtue of his death and resurrection, communicates to human nature and to each Christian in particular a new principle which is none other than the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Holy Trinity. The Christian is defined as one animated by the Holy Spirit. Now in verse 11 the Apostle adds that this new principle not only exercises its influence on the soul, but is equally the source of life for the Christian's body, as it was for Christ's body: "If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you . . . He will give life to your mortal bodies too, by his spirit who dwells in you."

Paul introduces our passage, in verses 17 and 18, by referring to the resurrection of the body: he speaks of the "glorification" which awaits those who are conjoined to the passion of Christ, and of the "glory" which, as a result, must be revealed in them. Here, as in the entire epistle, Paul has in mind salvation in its fullness which is completed only with the resurrection of the body at the Parousia.

Again, verse 23, concluding our passage, leaves no room for doubt: after referring to the expectation of the universe, Paul mentions the expectation of the Christian which he defines with unmistakable clarity as the expectation of "the redemption of our body"; certainly not in the sense that the Christian awaits an emancipation from the body! He awaits with firm hope the

liberation of his body itself, as well as his soul, from the carnal condition. In other words, it will partake of the same condition as the risen body of Christ.

3. The universe, object of the redemption

The Christian expects, too, with an equally firm hope that this new condition will become — in a manner impossible for us to imagine — the lot of the entire universe.

Here (v. 19) Paul adds to the clear statements concerning the present and future of the world an allusion to the past whose exact meaning is not certain and upon which not all exegetes are in agreement. On this point the Apostle seems to be taking up — without going beyond — the affirmation of Genesis (3:17) in which God, speaking to our first parents after their sin, says to Adam: "Cursed be the earth because of you . . . thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for you." There are evidently several ways of understanding such an affirmation. For St. Thomas, for example, thorns and thistles would have grown on the earth even if man had not sinned; but in this case their growth would not have been "*in poenam hominis*" (II-II, q. 164, art. 2, ad 1).

We will not delay over this problem which St. Paul did not intend to treat *ex professo*. The past of the universe certainly interests him much less than its present and its future. In regard to the present and future his thought does not present the same obscurity. Whatever may have been the primitive state of the universe before sin, its present state is not the definitive one. Like the human universe, the material universe itself is in expectation of a future state.

Paul, in describing this expectation, does not hesitate to make use of imagery. He portrays the whole of creation awaiting its deliverance as a person who, head thrust forward (*apokaradokia*, v. 19), fixes his eyes on the horizon, whence, with the return of Christ, the new day will finally dawn for mankind in full possession of the glory destined for the children of God.

The universe will not be content merely to look on from the outside at this triumph of redeemed humanity, as an impressed spectator delighting in a magnificent panorama. The material universe is called to share in the future state of the children of God. "It will be freed," says Paul, from what in its present state is "vanity, servitude and corruption," in order to share in "the freedom of the glory of the children of God." It will leave, then, its present condition to enter this new one which the Apostle does not hesitate to call a "freedom" — in fact, a freedom that is quite the same as that belonging to the glory of the children of God: and not merely, as it is often translated, "the glorious freedom of the children of God," but "the freedom of the glory of the children of God."

In Paul's mind the term "glory," especially in this eschatological context, signifies a very precise reality — the active and visible presence of God himself which is communicated to the humanity of Christ glorified in his resurrection

and ascension; it is through Christ's glorified humanity that this presence will be communicated to our humanity in its fullness at the general resurrection of the body.

According to the Apostle, this assertion itself rests on a certitude of faith. For "we know" from the Scriptures, continues Paul, that the present universe "is in labor" toward a better state — *odinei*, is in the pains of childbirth: the Apostle does not shrink from the deeply human and richly expressive biblical metaphor of the pains of childbirth (v. 22). From a purely human point of view that is incapable of going beyond appearances, the universe, true enough, seems at times to be floundering under the weight of torturing evil. Faith teaches us, however, that this is not the sign of agony, but rather the presage of birth.

Such an article of faith was most likely part of the very first *Credo* of the Church. St. Peter, from the start of his preaching on the day of Pentecost, referred to this "universal restoration" of which God had spoken through the mouth of his holy prophets (Acts 3:21). Moreover, Paul mentions it not only in this passage of the epistle to the Romans, but also in the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians. The Apostle is careful not to limit his horizon to the human world alone. If he is thinking here above all of the angelic world (because of the adversaries he must combat, especially in the letter to the Colossians), he nevertheless affirms with particular emphasis that Christ — the Christ made flesh, according to what seems to me the correct opinion of a number of modern exegetes — is the very center of the entire creation.

The absolute dependence of the entire universe on Christ is mirrored in the use of the prepositions *en*, *eis*, and *dia*. "Everything was created by him and for him; everything subsists in him." As Huby clearly and precisely explains: "In him all things have been created as in the supreme center of unity, harmony and cohesion, which gives the world its meaning, its value and thereby its reality, or, to use another metaphor, the nucleus, the meeting point (Lightfoot) where all the threads, all the forces of the universe converge and are co-ordinated. Were one to have an instantaneous view of the whole universe, past, present and future, he would see every being as ontologically dependent on Christ and as definitively intelligible only through him" (*Épîtres de la captivité*, p. 40).

In its turn, the epistle to the Ephesians describes explicitly the salvific plan of God as the recapitulation of all things in Christ — not just all men, but all things; so much so that nothing that exists should escape the vital influence of Christ. Each, of course, comes under this influence in a way proper to its own condition, but nothing is deprived of its rebirth. In short, God has created nothing for death, but rather only for life.

Finally, this authentically biblical doctrine was taken into the entire Catholic tradition without exception. The Greek Fathers were not alone in taking delight in the unity of the creative and redemptive plan, the fact that the entire universe shares the destiny of the human nature assumed by the Son of God. The hymns of victory of a St. John Chrysostom found their Latin echo in a St. Ambrose, who saw in the resurrection of Christ the resurrection of

the entire universe and not just that of man: "*Resurrexit in eo mundus, resurrexit in eo caelum, resurrexit in eo terra. Erat enim caelum novum et terra nova*" (*De fide resurrectionis*. Second Nocturn of the Fifth Sunday after Easter).

But even if we skip over all other examples, St. Thomas' magnificent conclusion to the *Summa Contra Gentiles* sums up this Latin tradition superbly. "Because all corporal beings," explains the Angelic Doctor, "exist in some way for man, it is fitting that at that time (after the last judgment) the state of the entire corporal universe will be transformed, so that it may be in harmony with what will then be the state of man. And since men will then be incorruptible, the present state of corruptibility will be removed from the corporal universe. This is what the Apostle teaches (Rom. 8:21). Thus, since the material universe will finally be adapted to the state of man, and since men will not only be freed from corruption, but clothed in glory, the material universe must also acquire in its way *quamdam claritatis gloriam*. This is the teaching of Apocalypse 21:1: '*Vidi caelum novum*'; and Isaiah 65:17: 'Behold I create new heavens and a new earth and the former things shall not be in remembrance . . . But you will rejoice and be glad forever. Amen.' " With this citation and with this hymn of triumph the work of the Angelic Doctor ends.

In Paul's day Jewish thought, it seems, was divided. Certain doctors represented the end of the world as an annihilation, a sort of general conflagration, in the manner of the Stoic *ekpurosis*; others saw it as a transformation. For Paul and for Christianity, there is no possible doubt. The universe is not destined to be destroyed, but to be transformed, to be, as the human body, "glorified" in its own way.

Of course, revelation teaches us nothing about the "how" of this transformation — revelation does not furnish us with any information of a properly "cosmological" order. Its teaching is of the religious order, not the "scientific." But it teaches us with certitude, that however this transformation may come about, it will lead to life and not to death.

In the same way, the dogma of the resurrection of the body cannot supply the biologist with a new datum; yet it teaches the Christian a truth far more important, though of another order. It teaches him that, appearances to the contrary, this body, in which he may already detect the ravages of sickness, which he knows is going to decompose and turn to dust, is nevertheless promised a share in the glory of the risen Christ.

But by this very fact, i.e., precisely because we have to deal with an essentially religious doctrine and not one of a purely scientific nature, the dogma of the redemption of the universe has not been revealed to us only, nor even principally, to render our intellectual world-synthesis more sweeping and more unified. Before all else this doctrine is intended to direct our lives and shape our attitudes, or — in the words of St. Paul — it should permit us to "walk in a manner worthy of the Lord" (Col. 1:10). This is the point we wish to elaborate in our final section.

III

Three lessons — three important consequences — seem to flow directly from the Pauline doctrine we have just expounded.

1. From the fact that the goal of Christian hope is placed in the redemption of the body and of the universe, it follows that the Christian conception of "salvation" is essentially a collective conception. For the bodily resurrection is characterized by the fact that, with the exception of Christ and his mother, it will take place for all at the same time, at the end of time, at that moment of "time" which the New Testament calls the Parousia.

Admittedly, this great hope has ceased little by little to be the true expectation of most Christians. We are accustomed to think only of what we call "the salvation of our soul," forgetting that this salvation is itself only a part of a whole. Moreover, a number of exegetes have thought it necessary to contrast in Paul two conceptions of salvation. They maintain that the first, whereby salvation is obtained by the resurrection of the body, is a relic of his Judaism which he later abandoned, replacing it by the Greek conception. In the Greek conception the resurrection no longer plays any real role and salvation is obtained immediately after death in the union of the soul, finally emancipated from the bonds of the body, with the divinity.

Nothing could be more inaccurate. To the end of his life, Paul never ceased to await the resurrection and the return of Christ at the Parousia — the redemption of the universe — all the while believing that at his death he would rejoin Christ in God. He never saw the slightest contradiction between these two aspects, as if it would be necessary to adopt the one and reject the other. However, the second aspect was basically individualistic; the first, on the contrary, was essentially collective and complemented the hope of Paul as well as of all early Christians.

For them, even if a Christian was definitively united to God in what was later termed the "beatific vision," his salvation was not yet complete. He would be fully "saved" only on taking possession of his glorious body, which means when all the elect were saved along with him or, to use a Pauline formula, when the body of Christ attained its perfect state. "*Irrequietum est cor meum donec requiescat in Te*"; or better yet, to avoid any ambiguity: "*Donec requiescamus omnes in Te!*"

2. From the fact that the redemption of the body extends to the whole universe, it follows that the work of man — his efforts to master the material universe, to draw out its secrets, to domesticate and utilize it, to transform brute matter into instruments of greater and greater perfection right up to "electronic brains" capable of operations defying the intelligence even of the man who made them — all such human work acquires a value for eternity.

Of course, matter offers man a resistance which can only be overcome by painful efforts. This is the painful, "laborious" character of human work which the Bible affirms as a penalty of original sin. But it never insinuates that without sin man would not have had to work. It even says explicitly that Adam before his sin was placed in the earthly Paradise "to cultivate it."

For the sinner, work, by reasons of its inherent painfulness, is a means of expiation or purification, the means par excellence. "You shall eat your bread in the sweat of your brow" (Gen. 3:19). But let us be careful not to restrict the value of work to this single aspect or even to consider it simply as a means of earning a living. Work has another, perhaps less familiar, aspect which springs immediately from the dogma of the redemption of the universe.

God has not created this universe to destine it to death. He has placed in our hands an unfinished universe, entrusting to us the glorious mission of perfecting his work. Because of sin, man is incapable of fulfilling this mission without painful effort, but God, in deciding to redeem man and in promising him a Redeemer, has entrusted this task to him once again, so to speak, and has enabled him to bring it to completion.

For the God of the Bible is exactly the opposite of Zeus who was jealous of man's happiness and who reserved to himself the secrets of nature, condemning Prometheus for having loved men too much in bringing them fire. For us Christians every new advance in the harnessing of nature by man, every new conquest of itself enters into the divine plan. It continues creation. It enables material creation to tend toward the end for which it was created. Such advances prepare in a certain, though enigmatic, way for the future redemption of the universe. In similar fashion, each time the spirit takes a greater hold on the human body, rendering it a more docile servant of the soul, it prepares in a real, but nonetheless enigmatic, manner for the future resurrection of the body.

3. Finally, from this there comes a third, equally important lesson. We have seen that Paul and the Bible conceived the redemption of the universe only as dependent upon the redemption of man himself. Without the redemption of man there could be neither redemption of the body nor, consequently, redemption of the universe. It follows that any effort to prepare for a redemption of the universe through human labor alone, without regard for the redemption of man, is a total delusion. By the same token, every so-called asceticism that tends to submit the body to the soul without looking toward the redemption of this soul can lead only to tragic failure. The body would then rise only to imprison the soul completely. Believing that he was working toward his salvation, man would be working in fact toward the loss of his soul as well as his body.

Gnostics may consider matter itself evil. But for Paul, as for the Bible, evil exists only in man — more precisely in the spirit of the man who, instead of ordering himself to God and others, seeks to order others and even God to himself. It follows then of necessity that every conquest of the universe which is not ordered toward establishing in man the reign of love serves to strengthen in him the tyranny of egoism; far from preparing the redemption of the universe, it can only contribute to its ruin. On the other hand, each time that man strives by his work — even if without apparent success — to place the universe at the service of love, it must be said that he is mysteriously but efficaciously preparing the world for redemption.

The glorified Son of Man

The epilogue (16:9-20) is written to enable the reader to find faith in Jesus. The writer underlines the importance of faith by exposing the residual core of unbelief in the Eleven. They cannot believe in the "Son of Man" even after the testimony of Mary Magdalene and the two disciples (16:9-13). When Jesus does appear to the eleven apostles, He upbraids them for their "lack of faith" (16:14). He then commissions them to preach the "good news" so that all men may be baptized and saved (16:15-16). The necessity of baptism recalls the "baptism" of the "Son of Man's" passion and glory in which He had once promised a share to James and John (10:38-45). For the sake of the reader, it is recounted that Jesus assured the apostles of signs that will testify to the power of faith in Him. Now at last there can be no doubt that Jesus is called "the Lord," the title of His exaltation. "So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven, and is seated now at the right hand of God. And they went forth and preached everywhere, while the Lord worked with them and attested his word by the miracles that went with them" (16:10-20). Mark's Gospel then closes with the certainty that the presence of the risen Lord Jesus working in His Church is for all who believe in Him an earnest of His final glory to come.

As Mark's Gospel draws to a finish, the reader is left to reflect upon this story of faith. Certain episodes stand out clearly, especially the two great faith-events: the confession of Peter and that of the centurion. Like points plotted on a map, these two testimonies have indicated the course of faith in this Gospel narrative.

The very obtuseness of the apostles is almost enough to evoke an act of faith from the reader who wonders at their slow understanding. When Peter has his moment of glory, the reader rejoices with him. But if Peter has triumphed, he also immediately falls when he tries to dissuade Jesus from His passion. Peter's act of faith is not sufficient because it is not ultimate. In the remainder of Mark's Gospel, he has still more acts of faith to make, with the possibility of being called a "Satan" whenever he fails.

During Jesus' passion there is another "moment of truth" for Peter in which he could have professed Jesus but failed. Instead, a pagan Roman makes the proper response to the identity of Jesus. Peter does not advance from his faith of Caesarea Philippi to make the act of faith the centurion makes. Just as Peter's confession serves as a benchmark to point out the progression of faith in the first part of Mark's Gospel, so the faith of the Roman serves to show in the second part a new advance in faith from that confession.

When the reader comes to the realization that he, too, must advance from confession to confession as he progresses in his faith, he becomes more sympathetic to Peter and the apostles. Peter's act of faith is not sufficient, because no act of faith is final. A paradoxical aspect of faith appears. Faith, in a sense, exists only to be left behind. It is like walking. In order to advance, one's feet must always immediately leave the place they have just reached.

As St. Thomas says, a man grows in his faith when his intellect understands

better what he believes and his will is more prompt and ready to assent (*Sum. Theol.* II-II, q. 5, a. 4c). So the reader also, just as the audience to which Jesus once preached, must awaken his will to hear and move his intellect to see.

Mark leaves his reader with the risen "Son of Man." He has shown him how to believe in Jesus, "the Lord," by presenting how others believed or did not believe in Jesus, who is the same "yesterday, today, and forever." The preaching within the preaching in Mark's Gospel once brought Jesus before the people of Galilee, Judea, Tyre and Sidon; still today it does the same for the reader. As Hamlet's play within the play is performed for a larger audience than Claudius and Gertrude, so the preaching of Jesus is intended for more people than His audience of 2,000 years ago. It is to catch the consciences of men from every era.

THE EUCHARIST: A COVENANT MEAL

William E. Lynch, C.M.

The Eucharist is a many-sided mystery. Sacrament and sacrifice, it contains the Body, Blood, soul and divinity of Jesus of Nazareth. This the Catholic knows well. What is perhaps known only to the Bible-reading Catholic is that the Eucharist is a covenant meal. As will be made clear, one of the most important effects of a covenant meal is the strengthening of the bond between the participants. It is this bond, or union, that we wish to emphasize here.

The covenant

A covenant is an agreement between two parties who may be either equal or unequal. It forges a union between two otherwise disparate parties. If two people wish to be more closely united, there is no better means than forming a covenant. Between intimates such as Jonathan and David, the covenant was so strong as to make them one soul (cf. 1 Sam. 20), or one person, as we would say. Surely, the Israelite has captured the notion of taking a foreigner and making him a relative; a stranger comes into the very life of the family or of the friend.

Of the several covenants of the Old Testament, that between Yahweh and Israel was the most influential for the history of Israel (cf. Exod. 19:3-8, 24; Jos. 24). Through it Israel shared, in a sense, the very life of God. "... you shall be my special possession, dearer to me than all other people ... you shall be to me a kingdom of priests, a holy nation" (Exod. 19:5-6). Be-

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cause of the bond of unity effected by the covenant, Israel shares and must share the holiness of God. "Be holy, for I, the Lord, your God, am holy" (Lev. 19:2).

The covenant meal

Frequently with the striking of the covenant a meal was given (cf. Gen. 26:28-30; 31:44-54; Exod. 24:11). The meal did not establish the unity between members, but it celebrated and strengthened it. This notion of giving strength is in accord with the facts: food does not *give* life, but it *strengthens* it. Food taken in common has a unifying power.

This eating together and common life brought peace to the members of a covenant. It is unthinkable that the two who had been divided and had now entered into a presumably sincere pact could remain hostile. In fact, the Old Testament looked with horror upon the man who turned against one with whom he had eaten: "Even my friend who had my trust and partook of my bread has raised his heel against me" (Ps. 40:10). Peace was the expected result of the unity achieved by the two who had entered into a covenant. In the psalm quoted above, the word correctly translated as "friend" is, in the literal rendering of the original text, "my man of peace."

The Old Testament covenant meal was an imperfect reality. It symbolized, but did not effect, the union between the two parties. Even the covenant between God and Israel was an imperfect reality inasmuch as it was conditioned. The union between God and people could be broken and the covenant annulled.

The new and perfect covenant, predicted by Jeremias (Jer. 31:31-34) and ratified by Jesus Christ, was a lasting covenant that would never be abrogated. The Eucharist, which is the covenant meal of this new reality, shares in its perfection. It both symbolizes and effects the increase of unity between the Christian and God and between Christian and Christian. It enables the Christian to share in the very life of God, to become a member of God's "family." As a result the Christian is united more closely with his fellow Christian. Rightly, therefore, does the commonsense of the faithful call the Eucharist "Holy Communion." This union leads to peace with God and to peace with all those who are similarly united by the covenant bond.

The covenant meal in Mark and Matthew

The covenant meal, like so many other theological ideas, is gradually developed in the New Testament. St. Mark and St. Matthew speak of the covenant and allude to the unity that this covenant has effected. St. Paul makes their teaching more explicit in the communion of being. And St. John carries the doctrine to its logical conclusion in relating Christ's words about the resurrection to a new life and the mutual indwelling.

Both Mark and Matthew refer to the covenant when they relate the institution of the Eucharist (cf. Mark 14:22-24; Matthew 26:26-28). In both texts we read that the Blood of Jesus is the Blood of the New Covenant which is being

shed for the remission of sins. According to the Semitic mentality, a covenant had to be sealed in blood. An animal was slaughtered and its blood sprinkled on the contracting parties. Thus, at Sinai, Moses sprinkled part of the blood of the victims on the altar, representing Yahweh, and part on the people. He then said: "This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you" (Exod. 24:5-8). The similarity between these words and those of our Lord is apparent. The Last Supper, therefore, was truly a covenant meal.

If a covenant meal, then the Eucharist must, as the evangelists realized, express the bond of union between man and God. Once it is realized that the Eucharist contains the Body and Blood of Jesus Himself, it is easy to conclude that by partaking of it the faithful are united in a real way with their covenant partner. And the union is obviously much closer than that achieved by the old covenant meal. In the latter the union was only symbolized; here it is both symbolized and effected.

The consideration of the Eucharistic Blood leads to a similar conclusion. For a Semite, blood is the carrier or the seat of life. Hence, to receive the Blood of Jesus is to receive His life. Jesus, sharing His Blood, shares His entire being and thereby establishes a bond of fellowship between Himself and the faithful. St. Augustine has placed these words on the lips of our Lord: "You do not change me into you as food of your flesh, but you are changed into me."

All these notions can be deduced from the words of the evangelists recording the event of the Last Supper, for they are based on the fuller understanding of the Old Testament background. Israel of old had become one family with God by the covenant of Sinai. Christians become a new and more perfect family of God by the covenant sealed with the Blood of Christ. Israel celebrated its covenant with a meal (Exod. 24:11); Christians do likewise.

The covenant meal in Paul

The full meaning of this covenant meal was clear to St. Paul. The Corinthian Christians had asked him a twofold question: "Is it ever licit to eat idol-offered meat? Is it ever licit to attend the sacrificial banquets of the pagans?" Paul deals with these questions in chapters 8-10 of his first letter to the Corinthians. We are chiefly concerned with chapter 10, where Paul makes more explicit what the evangelists had implied: the Eucharist is a true meal effecting our union with Christ and with one another.

That Paul considers the Eucharist a covenant meal is clear from his reference to the covenant in recording the words of its institution (1 Cor. 11:25). The notion, therefore, of a covenant meal is in the background of Paul's thought throughout this section and must be kept in mind in order to appreciate his response to the questions asked of him.

Paul's answer, in brief, is that participation in non-Christian sacrificial banquets is unlawful. One of his arguments is based on the effects symbolized by these meals. Just as the Jewish people of the Old Testament attained a certain union with Yahweh by means of their covenant meal ("Behold Israel according to the flesh, are not they who eat of the sacrifice *in communion with the*

altar?" — 1 Cor. 10:18), so, too, the pagan Gentiles attain a union with their gods by their sacrificial banquets. But these gods are false gods and their worship is inspired by the evil spirits, the devils. Consequently, the union achieved by these banquets is a union with devils. Since the Christians are united with God, it is impossible that they be united at the same time with devils (1 Cor. 10:29-30).

But Paul emphasizes that the chief reason for this prohibition is the union already effected by the Eucharist between Christ and the Christian: "The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not the sharing (communion) of the Blood of Christ? And the bread that we break, is it not the partaking (communion) of the Body of the Lord?" (1 Cor. 10:16). These words bring out the full meaning of what Christ had done at the Last Supper and show the basic impossibility of any other union achieved by any other covenant meal.

In this same passage Paul refers to another union that flows from the union with Christ and that is effected by this same covenant meal — the union between all Christians. "Because the bread is one, we, though many, are one body, all of us who partake of the one bread" (1 Cor. 10:17). The many grains that constitute the one bread are referred to in this passage. And just as the many grains make one bread, so we, eating it, become one.

But Paul has placed the greater emphasis on Christ. Since He is the bread and the bread is one, therefore His Body is one. In other words, Paul is saying: "Because we partake of the one Body of Christ, we become one with one another." This is but another way of expressing what he will say later in the same epistle: "Now you are the Body of Christ, member for member" (12:27). Christians become one with Christ and one with each other.

These ideas are similar to those that we have already considered from the Old Testament. The covenant has brought two strangers into friendship and union. The covenant meal has strengthened their individual life, and both symbolized and effected their common life. Paul has simply taken these Old Testament concepts and given them their fullest meaning in the light of the new reality.

We know, of course, that the actual union of Christians is begun in baptism. There we already become one family with Christ, partaking of the divine life. The Eucharist strengthens and increases this life of union. To establish any other union, therefore, would be equivalent to "provoking the Lord to jealousy" (1 Cor. 10:22).

The covenant meal in John

Unlike Paul or the other evangelists, St. John does not use the word "covenant." That his explanation of the Eucharist, however, refers to the same essential union which the other authors had called a covenant is certain. First of all, the sacrifice that is necessary for the covenant is alluded to in the words, "The bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world" (6:52). The Eucharist is the sacrifice by which the covenant is sealed.

The entire passage in 6:51-60 emphasizes the life-giving qualities of the bread that Christ will give. Consider the assertion, "Unless you eat the flesh of

the Son of Man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you" (6:54). Unless man partakes of natural food he cannot live; unless man partakes of the covenant food he cannot live the covenant life. It is the negative form of the concept expressed positively in the next assertion, "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has life everlasting and I will raise him up on the last day" (6:55).

In these words of John's Gospel we find the fullest expression of the concept of unity through the covenant meal that was found in the other inspired writers. We find here the logical conclusion to all that had been said before. Since the Eucharist is a genuine meal, it strengthens the life of the partaker. But since the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Him who lives forever, it gives man the power to live forever. This perfect covenant meal will achieve the resurrection of the whole person, since the whole person is now part of the family of Christ.

An even greater emphasis on the unity achieved is found in the following verses of this same chapter. Christ says: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him" (6:57). In other words, by reception of the Eucharistic food a mutual indwelling is caused — Christ dwells in the Christian and the Christian in Christ. The nature of this union is even stated to be similar to that between the Father and Son: "As the living Father has sent me and as I live because of the Father, so he who eats me, he also shall live because of me" (6:58).

In John's Gospel, therefore, we find clearly stated two effects of this covenant meal not expressed by the earlier authors. The one who partakes of the Eucharist shares in the divine life in such a way that it will effect his ultimate resurrection; and the union achieved by the Eucharist is so intimate that it can be compared to that between the Father and the Son. As we have seen, these two basic notions of giving or preserving life and forming a union between the parties of the covenant are inherent in the notion of any covenant meal. But the covenant meal of the New Testament has brought to perfection all the reality that was only dimly implied in its antitype of the Old Testament.

The liturgy of the covenant meal

We can conclude this study of the Eucharist as a covenant meal by a brief reference to the liturgy of the Roman Mass. There we find expressed time and again the two notions of life and unity that are the proper effects of the Eucharistic banquet and that we have seen present in the covenant meals of old. The reality of the one family, for example, is found beautifully expressed in the *Our Father*, which we pray in union with Christ, the sacrificial Victim. Again the breaking of the Host symbolizes uniquely and almost paradoxically the oneness that the Eucharist will effect: from this one broken Bread all will partake and become one.

conquered sin and death in His own flesh. This victory was achieved by the resurrection from the dead. "The death that he died, he died to sin once for all, but the life that he lives, he lives unto God" (6:10).

Because of His solidarity with Adam's sinful race, Christ's victory over sin and death is the victory of all mankind. He is the firstborn from the dead (Col 1:18), the first-fruits of a new human race (1 Cor. 15:20, 23). "Since by a man came death, by a man also comes resurrection from the dead" (1 Cor. 15:21). The risen Christ is the first man to live entirely for God. He calls all men to share in His new life by faith and baptism. In the sacrament of baptism the Christian already dies and rises with Christ to a new life (Rom. 6:4; Col. 2:12). Baptism unites the Christian in a mysterious way with the risen Jesus; the life of the risen Jesus is communicated to him through the gift of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit lives and acts within the Christian as the principle of a spiritual resurrection in this world and the pledge of bodily resurrection in the next. St. Paul has fully explained the words of Christ, "I am the resurrection and the life" (John 11:25).

In Philippians 3:10-11, St. Paul wrote of his own spiritual life. He sought to know Christ and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings, so that, becoming like to Him in death, he might attain the resurrection from the dead. St. Paul referred to a conscious experience of the risen Christ, living and active in the world. The power of His resurrection is poured forth in the Church through the sacraments. There we come in contact with the risen Christ, knowing that His resurrection is also ours.

THE RESURRECTION IN THE PRIMITIVE COMMUNITY

Josef Sint, S.J.

The preaching of the Risen One holds for all time the central position in Christian faith and life. The following reflections concern the theological content of this preaching in the primitive community as presented in the NT. Both the person of the Risen One and his work will be considered after some introductory remarks concerning the historicity of the Resurrection.

The NT clearly testifies to the faith in the Resurrection of Jesus which together with his death forms the core of the preaching of the early community. According to the now widespread view of Rudolph Bultmann, this faith does not concern an objective event, a "real occurrence," but the death and resur-

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rection of Jesus must be understood merely eschatologically. Through faith in the Resurrection of Jesus the believer experiences his death as a saving death and faces final judgment in his death and resurrection. The Resurrection itself serves only as the occasion of insight into the personal experience of salvation.

Without being able to enter more closely into Bultmann's concepts of faith and history, we must at least test whether this interpretation is compatible with the language of the NT and ask how we are to understand the historicity of the Resurrection. We begin with two negative observations. Of the event itself we have no direct eyewitnesses. Even the guards at the tomb could perceive only the earthquake, the apparition of the angel, and the rolling away of the stone. Moreover, could the event of the Resurrection be grasped in space and time at all or be made the subject of proof since it is not a simple return of a dead person to his previous state? But a predominantly positive factor is the manifold evidence of the apparitions of the risen Lord which the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles offer.

Earliest tradition

The starting point of our consideration will be 1 Cor. 15:3-8 which belongs to the earliest tradition and was probably formulated already in the Palestinian community. Four elements of this report will be singled out to illustrate the historicity of the appearances of Jesus: 1. the *paradosis* (tradition) of which the apostles knew they were witnesses, 2. the expression, *ophthe*, "he was seen," 3. the raising of Jesus *ek nekron*, "from among the dead" in the context of the empty tomb, and 4. the formula, "according to the Scriptures." The first two expressions point to the Resurrection as an objective event, as transsubjective reality; the last two as a salvation-event having a meaningfulness grasped only in faith.

"I passed on to you, as of first importance, the account I had received." Paul introduces a whole chain of witnesses who are publicly cited in the early preaching as guarantors of the Resurrection: Cephas, the twelve, more than five hundred, James, and then the rest of the disciples. Paul speaks in the technical language of the rabbis and with a conscious appreciation of tradition which the early Church took from its Jewish background. From the beginning of the Christian preaching the apostles were called upon to be witnesses to the living tradition, especially with regard to the appearance of the risen Lord. The apostle who was to fill the place of Judas had to be "a witness to his resurrection" (Acts 1:22). Thus Peter professes on Pentecost: "This Jesus God has raised up and we are witnesses of this" (Acts 2:32). Again and again this same assertion occurs in the preaching of Acts. Paul's explicit appeal to tradition through witnesses argues against reducing these testimonies to a mere plea for faith in the risen Lord. Luke makes no distinction between eyewitness testimony for the life of Jesus previous to the Resurrection and testimony to the Resurrection (Acts 1:21). Clearly the event holds the same degree of reality in the minds of the preachers as the life of Jesus before the Resurrection.

Jesus made visible

"On the third day he was raised . . . and was seen" — *ophthe*. Paul uses this expression four times in succession. The word does not have an intransitive meaning in the sense of *appear*. The Greek means rather that something *becomes* or *is visible* and in the language of the Bible especially in the sense of an emergence from invisibility which is linked with the world of God. As God is the agent with *egegetai*, "he was raised," so God also causes Jesus to be seen. This recalls the archaic and unusual formula of Acts 10:40: "caused him plainly to be seen" — which is nothing else than an early interpretation of *ophthe*.

Thus in the conviction of the early community the activity of God upon Jesus comes clearly to the fore. The concrete "see" stresses the transsubjective character of the apparitions. Behind every critique which considers as secondary and legendary creations of the community the reports of touching Jesus and eating with him, there lies the unacknowledged postulate of a Kantian idealistic theory of knowledge questioning the knowability of any objective reality. The theory of an "objective image" attempts both to acknowledge and not to acknowledge the data. But the frequently stressed *ophthe* seems to be a protest of the first generation of Christians against any explaining away of the Resurrection.

A salvation-event

The factual character of the Resurrection is not the only element found in the preaching of the early community. The Resurrection is also a salvation-event of the deepest meaningfulness. Its objective character is emphasized not for apologetic reasons but because of the desire to understand this event more profoundly in faith.

The risen Lord is not merely raised up and returned "from the tomb" — an expression never used in connection with the Resurrection — but "from among the dead" — an expression that appears over thirty times in this connection. Is this not a hidden reference to the fact that the Resurrection of Jesus was more than a mere return from the tomb to his earlier earthly life? Acts clearly expresses this point when it applies Psalm 15:10 to Jesus (Acts 2:24). The idea of the "ways of life" is reflected in the later preaching when Jesus is called the "source of life" (Acts 3:15) and "the firstborn from among the dead" (Col 1:18). Thus the Resurrection as part of salvation history begins to unfold in the early preaching.

This meaningfulness for salvation history is also seen in the fact that the Resurrection was considered a fulfilment of the Scriptures. Already in his Pentecost sermon Peter applies the words of the psalmist to the Resurrection (Acts 2:30). In the fourfold expression of 1 Cor. 15:3-5, the first and third clauses emphasize the fact that the saving action of God foretold in the OT is fulfilled in Jesus. The addition "for our sins" underlies this meaningfulness for salvation.

Resurrection unexpected

During the entire time spent with his apostles before his death Jesus had not succeeded in giving them a profound understanding of the mystery of his person. In spite of all his preparation, all their contact with the power of his deeds and teaching, and all their devotion to him, they could not and would not understand that the way of the Son of Man must pass through suffering and death. The catastrophe of the crucifixion brought complete confusion ending in flight and desertion. The apostles were anything but disposed to expect the Resurrection of their master. In the reports of the Resurrection doubt and uncertainty appear again and again. Only gradually and with effort does the risen Lord succeed in raising up their shattered faith.

But through this trial and the overpowering impressiveness of the apparitions their faith is deepened and brought to an entirely new understanding. The Easter experience illumines all the previous life of their master and deepens their understanding of the plan of salvation. The teaching of the risen Lord discloses to them the meaning of the Scriptures which foretold the path through suffering to glory, and the gift of the Holy Spirit reveals to them the full understanding of their vocation as witnesses to the salvation-event in Jesus.

The Jesus of history was no irrelevant matter to the early preachers of the Resurrection. The Risen One is seen as continuous and identical with the Jesus of history. Through the apparitions the apostles gained a deeper understanding from which a theology of the meaningfulness of Jesus' person and work for salvation begins to develop. For the raising of Jesus is the proof of his true messiahship and lordship (Acts 2:36).

Messiahship misunderstood

Throughout his entire earthly life Jesus was reluctant to admit that he was the Messiah in order to avoid national and political misunderstanding of his mission. Nonetheless, the messianic consciousness of Jesus is seen clearly in his earthly life, above all in the self-imposed title of Son of Man (Matthew 12:8). As soon as the disciples partially understand his messianic mission, Jesus tries to bring them to a further understanding that his path as Messiah must lead through humiliation to glory (Matthew 16:21f). This effort, however, meets only with misunderstanding and even protest.

New understanding

The situation is fundamentally changed after the Resurrection. Not only is the notion that Christ must suffer and die no longer a stumbling block, but the passion is now seen as a fulfilment of the prophecies (Acts 3:18). An important moment for the apostles' realization of the Risen One as the Messiah was the pouring out of the Spirit, which is characteristic of the messianic times according to the prophecies which Peter cites (Acts 2:17-20). As Jesus knew that he himself was filled with the Spirit (Luke 4:18) and as the Spirit descended upon him at his baptism (Matthew 4:16), so the apostles now realize that he

"has received from his Father the promise of the Holy Spirit and has poured out what you see and hear" (Acts 2:33).

The preaching of the early Church confessed the Risen One as the Messiah and sought in a series of attributes applied to Jesus to construct the first elements of a Christology. These archaic expressions no longer used in the later development of the NT are authentic matter of the first Christological preaching. Moreover, these expressions, at least in part, refer to the life of Jesus before the Resurrection and hence emphasize the continuity between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith.

Glorification of Messiah

Through the Resurrection Jesus has been "exalted to God's right hand" in fulfillment of Psalm 109 (Acts 2:30-35). "He is the one whom God has appointed to be the judge of the living and the dead" (Acts 10:40). Peter's sermon after the cure of the lame man mentions the glory into which the Messiah has entered (Acts 3:13). The Risen One is also the fulfillment of the prophecy from Isaiah regarding the figure of the servant. Like this servant Jesus has been anointed with the Spirit, has taken upon himself vicariously suffering and insult (Acts 4:25-30), and has been glorified for the salvation of the chosen people (Acts 3:26).

In the sermons of Acts Jesus is often called the Holy One or the Righteous One (Acts 3:14), allusions to OT messianic expectations. For the Messiah will be righteous (Jer. 23:5), a just, humble, and peaceful king (Zach. 9:9). Later Jewish writings further develop this theme to which the early preaching refers. For though Jesus has fulfilled these expectations in his life, the Jews have "disowned the Holy, Righteous One" (Acts 3:14).

Similarly Jesus is the Holy One (Acts 3:14), "the holy servant" (Acts 4:27), for the Messiah is anointed with the holy Spirit of God. Finally in his sermons Peter gives Jesus another title, *archegos*, "prince" (Acts 5:31), "source of life" (Acts 3:15). The Hebrew *nasi* underlying the Greek recalls Ez. 34:24 where God promises a new covenant of peace with his people and that "my servant David will be prince among them."

Messianic lordship

These early attempts to express the experience of the Risen One are rooted in the OT atmosphere and yet have transcended their origin under the influence of the Resurrection which gave the disciples a new understanding of Jesus as the Messiah. These Christological attributes at least implicitly indicate the divinity of Christ. Besides the frequent use of the title *lord* as an expression of respect even before the Resurrection, there are clear expressions of a more comprehensive lordship. Drawing upon the common Jewish conceptions of the Messiah, Jesus claimed during his early life an absolute lordship. The question concerning the lordship of the Messiah, the son of David, whom David calls Lord (Matthew 22:44), Jesus clearly applies to himself. He is "Lord of the Sabbath" (Matthew 12:8), and calling Jesus the Lord could merit heaven (Matthew

7:21ff). The sovereign authority of Jesus regarding the Law reveals the power implied in this title (Matthew 5:21f). The power and dignity of Jesus reflects the idea of the messianic lordship of the contemporary literature. With this idea in mind, Jesus' opponents question his authority at the cleansing of the temple, and thus the puzzling expression, "The Lord needs them" (Matthew 21:3), must be understood. The Resurrection clarifies and deepens the meaning of these instances. The Aramaic *maranatha* (1 Cor. 16:22) shows the very early origin of this title. The Hellenistic churches adopted the expression untranslated — a certain sign that it was a familiar formula of faith in the Palestinian community. Hence, the prayer of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," belongs to the earliest period.

Two passages from Paul show that the connection between the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus and his lordship was clearly grasped in the earliest preaching. Both passages are of pre-Pauline origin and reflect a very ancient view. In Rom. 10:9 the confession, "Jesus is the Lord," is equated with faith that "God has raised him." The hymn to Christ (Phil. 2:6-11) develops in six strophes the entire mystery of Christ from his divine dignity through the incarnation, suffering, and death to glory. The historical experience of the lordship of Jesus finds its continuation, development, and deepening in the Resurrection brought to its fulness especially in Paul's speculations on the cosmic power of the lordship of Jesus (Col. 1:14).

Jesus' divinity

Two lines of development have had an important influence on the *kurios* title: the OT *Yahweh-Kurios* and the *kurios* of the Hellenistic cults. Through them the explicit theological declaration of Jesus' divinity emerges more clearly in the consciousness of the Christian preaching.

The application of the prophecy of Joel to Jesus in the sermon of Peter (Acts 2:17-20) is the first suggestion of the application of the *Adonai-Kurios* title to Jesus. The "day of the Lord" (Acts 2:33) immediately refers to Yahweh, but mediately also refers to Jesus. "Everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved" (Acts 2:21). For in Jesus of Nazareth "is salvation and in no other" (Acts 4:12). As the savior of the end-times, Jesus is unmistakably identified with the OT *Adonai-Kurios*.

A series of further linguistic formulas gradually clarifies the identification of the resurrected Jesus with Yahweh. In Samaria Peter and John preach "the word of the Lord" (Acts 8:25). The Lord is the object of faith (Acts 3:16), and to the Lord fidelity is pledged (Acts 14:23). Similarly one speaks of "fear of the Lord" and of his grace (Acts 9:31, 14:3).

Although the radical thesis that the *kurios* title of Jesus is of purely Hellenistic origin and transferred to Jesus from the ruler cults of the Near East is now proved inadequate, the fact of contact with the ruler cults in the Greek world remains inescapable. This confrontation of the Christian message led to a more conscious realization of Jesus as the only and unique Lord above absolutely every other lordship (1 Cor. 8:5). The Apocalypse reflects this conflict of the lords of this world with the absolute lordship of Christ (1:5, 22:20).

The experience of the risen Lord also casts light upon his work. The salvation-message centers about the reality of our Christian existence in the risen Lord, the salvation both of the individual and of the community of the Church. Peter speaks of the consequences of the Resurrection for his hearers. Through it Jesus has become the "source of life" who has himself shattered the power of death and can also blot out sin for him who believes (Acts 3:19). Faith and baptism are the fundamental requisites for the salvation of the individual.

Resurrection and faith

In Paul the central meaning of the Resurrection-event for the salvation of the individual stands out more clearly. Faith is essentially faith in God who has raised Jesus Christ from the dead (Rom. 4:24), and upon this faith depends our salvation (Rom. 10:9). So central is the Resurrection in Pauline faith that if Christ is not risen, faith is empty. The content of faith is stated in the short formula, "Jesus is the Lord." Through this faith we attain "the promise of the Spirit" (Gal. 3:14); "Christ dwells in our hearts" (Eph. 3:17); we become "children of God" (Gal. 3:25). Through faith in Jesus we attain "justification . . . to know him and the power of the resurrection" (Phil. 3:9). Thus man becomes a "new creature" (2 Cor. 5:17). We live no longer but "Christ lives in us" (Gal. 2:20). Finally, the Resurrection of Jesus also guarantees the resurrection of each individual (1 Cor. 15; 1 Thess. 4:14).

Baptismal union

Secondly, baptism is required for salvation as a rite of initiation, as an exterior visible sign of belonging to Christ and of faith in the Resurrection. Paul's theology of baptism views the Christian existence of the individual in his relation with the risen and glorified Lord. Christian existence is a real sharing in death and life with the spiritual Christ, the Lord present in the Church in mystery. The event of baptism symbolizes the mysterious reality of salvation (Rom. 6:3-5). Through baptism our whole life has entered into a new and mysterious union with the risen Lord (Gal. 3:27), a mysterious union of destiny that the risen Lord will bring to the fullness of glory (Col. 3:3).

The salvation of the individual is realized only in the Church, which as a society is more than the mere sum of individuals who share this salvation in the risen Lord. The experience of the Resurrection opened a path toward the apostles' understanding of Jesus' intention in founding his kingdom.

During the forty days he speaks to them of the kingdom of God (Acts 1:3). Before he definitively left them, he told them that after receiving the Spirit, they would be his witnesses even to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8). On Pentecost Peter announces that the Resurrection of Jesus has fulfilled what David foretold, "that God . . . would put one of his descendants upon his throne" (Acts 2:30). For Jesus has entered into the position of Lord in his kingdom. The fulfilment of the promise to send the Spirit proves that the predicted enthronement has been realized. As the glorified Lord at the right hand of the Father, the risen Jesus rules his kingdom (Acts 13:38f).

This message of salvation is not for the Jews alone, but for "all those far away whom the Lord our God calls to him" (Acts 2:39). Thus "Jesus Christ of Nazareth . . . whom God raised from the dead" has "become the cornerstone" (Acts 4:10). Paul develops this image of a building, the temple of the new Israel founded upon the risen Lord (1 Cor. 3:11-16; Eph. 2:20f). In the image of head and body Pauline ecclesiology reaches its peak (Eph. 1:22). And precisely as the risen Lord, Christ is the head of the body.

Risen Christ head of body

The mystery of the Christian existence of the individual finds its completion in this mysterious membership of all the faithful in the glorified body of the Lord (Eph. 4:4-6). If the risen Christ is the glorified head of his body, then the community of the Church is the mystical glorified body. Thus we "have all — Jews or Greeks, slaves or free men — been baptized in one spirit to form one body; we have all been saturated with one Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:13). As "the firstborn from among the dead" the risen Christ is the new Adam, a life-giving Spirit, and hence the head and beginning of the new humanity. Unlike the first Adam, through whose sin death came into the world, Christ by his obedience unto death destroyed Adam's guilt, conquered sin and death, of which his Resurrection is the proof. If we are one with Christ as one body and share in the glory of his Resurrection, then our home is no longer on earth, but in heaven (Phil. 3:20).

Thus for us the new time of the world has already begun since we are torn from the world of sin through the power of the Resurrection (Eph. 2:7; Rom. 6:3). Christian time and the reality of Christian existence have their beginning with the "now" of the Resurrection in salvation history. As an historical event it is bound to the time and space in which was manifested God's power in Jesus. But this event has for all future time established a new beginning so that this "now" causes a crisis; for through the Resurrection and glory of Jesus, the Messiah and Lord, salvation is given to all who believe in his name. The Resurrection is thus the unending salvation-reality which gives ever-present validity and meaning to the unique event of history.

JESUS IS LORD

Sister Mary Trinitas, R.D.C.

"Let all Israel, then, accept as certain that God has made this Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Messiah" (Acts 2:36). This ringing challenge

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In this way one may see how authentic Christian hope in a future world — far from luring the Christian from concern for the world, far from turning him aside from enriching the universe through dedicated labor — makes just such effort one of his most pressing duties. For, if what we have said is correct, if a “redeemed” universe can in the final analysis only be a universe placed entirely at the service of love, who then but the Christian — I mean the man authentically inspired by the love of Christ (for there is no other, whether he bears officially the name of Christian or whether he is one in fact without knowing it) — who then but such a man is capable of placing the universe at the service of love and thus contributing, modestly but efficaciously, to the redemption of the universe, the object of his hope?

7 THE APOCALYPSE

The preaching of the message of salvation of all men in Christ burst upon the world with the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The difficulty of bearing witness to Christ was soon experienced by the apostles and especially by the first witness unto death — Stephen. Persecution of the Church grew in extent and violence through the first three centuries of her history, until to be a Christian became synonymous with a vocation to martyrdom.

The Apocalypse of St. John was written to encourage the Christians of the first century to stand firm in their witness. In the difficult symbolic language of apocalyptic literature, St. John shows the history and fate of governments which war against God's plan of salvation in Christ. He shows Christ, as Lord of history, present in His Church, encouraging His suffering members and leading them to the marriage of the Lamb in glory.

Although the Apocalypse may be a difficult book, it has been fruitfully studied according to its own literary type.¹ The articles in this section give a valuable introduction to modern commentaries. Yet, in spite of the complexity of its language and symbolism, the Apocalypse is a consoling book, not only because of its promise of future glory, but also because it clearly states that Christ is with His suffering Church and with every Christian now: “Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in and eat with him, and he with me” (Apoc. 3:20).

¹William Heidt, *The Apocalypse*. New Testament Reading Guide (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1962). Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1907). William Barclay, *The Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1959).

Historical background of New Testament apocalyptic

The political situation in the early days of the Church, leading to the composition of the great Apocalypse of St. John, is not unlike that of the Jewish nation. The Gospels and Epistles bear constant witness to the fact that the Church was born to persecution. But most of the early opposition to the Church came from Jewish factions. The Roman government took no official stand on the matter, and even St. Paul was released from his first Roman imprisonment in 63 A.D. Shortly after this, however, the official situation changed. Nero (37-68) became emperor, fired Rome and made the Christian community the scapegoat for his insane action. Paul suffered martyrdom in 67 A.D. The troubles continued under Vespasian (69-79), Titus (79-81) and Domitian (81-96). All this was a new experience for the Christians and they were unprepared for it.

It was at this time, around 96 A.D., that the vision came to St. John on Patmos. He writes about it in the Apocalypse. His message was a "revelation" — a document attesting to the triumph of Christ. As Christ had overcome the world in His passion and resurrection, so would His Church triumph in a world gone mad. This is the whole message and purpose of John's book. Some have tried to see in the Apocalypse a revelation of the total course of history. It was not written to satisfy idle curiosity about the future, nor to provide a blueprint by which a person of ingenuity could plot the course and destiny of peoples and nations down to our present day.

Reading the apocalyptic literature

The strange literary form of these books is the result of two factors. First of all, the author is an Oriental, given to imaginative and symbolic modes of expression. Secondly, his intention was to console and strengthen the faith of his readers and, at the same time, to keep his message safe from hostile eyes. To accomplish this end, he used symbolic language that could be understood only by the initiated. We might compare this to the *disciplina arcani* of the early Church, the process whereby Christians recognized one another by the use of certain symbols and kept themselves and their teachings safe from their pagan persecutors.

An attempt to read and understand the apocalyptic genre can be a rather disconcerting experience because we lack familiarity with the metaphorical language which is its stock in trade. The same complaint, but in varying degrees, has been voiced about many of the other books of the Bible.

While the difficulties are not to be minimized, neither are they to be made an excuse for ignoring the Sacred Scriptures, which are of paramount importance to our spiritual lives. This we have on the testimony of St. Jerome, who says, "To ignore the Scriptures is to ignore Christ," and of Pope Pius XII, who brings his remarks in *Divino Aflante Spiritu* to a close with the recommendation to read the Scriptures because: "There those who are wearied and oppressed by adversities and afflictions will find true consolation and divine strength to suffer and bear with patience; there — that is, in the Holy

Gospel — Christ, the highest and greatest example of justice, charity, and mercy, is present to all; and to the lacerated and trembling human race are laid open the fountains of that divine grace without which both peoples and their rulers can never arrive at, never establish, peace in the state and unity of heart; there in fine will all learn Christ, 'who is the head of all principality and power' and 'who of God is made unto us wisdom and justice and sanctification and redemption.' "

No one who approaches the Scripture with an open heart and a mind attuned by the discipline of the Church to the message of Christ will come away empty. Those who study the text of the Bible, and humbly seek aid from the wonderful sources at their command, in books and periodicals, will find God's Word a library to fill every human need and spiritual aspiration.

THE APOCALYPSE

Patrick Fannon, S.M.M.

No book of the Bible can claim to have received such a poor press in the past as that accorded the Apocalypse. Some of the early Greek Fathers — Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Theodoret — shared hesitations about its inspired character. Heretics and near-heretics gave it their dubious support. It provoked the *irrisus infidelium*. The underworld sects of the Middle Ages borrowed their slogans from its pages. Luther shied away from it: "my spirit cannot acquiesce in this book," while Zwingli forthrightly denounced it: "It is not a book of the Bible." A leading divine, some three hundred years ago, described it as a book "which either finds a man cracked or leaves him so." More recent oracles have been content to pronounce it pure fantasy, the ravings of a crank from the lunatic fringe.

Even sympathetic readers, not given to lampooning the Word of God, have admitted themselves utterly baffled by the studied obscurities in the text. They have found themselves on the shore of a Sargasso Sea of symbols, or mesmerised by a cabalism of numbers, or gazing with uncomprehending wonder at the ceremonial of the liturgy of heaven. Little cause for amazement, then, if the Apocalypse has not won the respect we might have expected for the final flourish of revelation.

Modern studies, however, have been trying to make compensation and have done much to make intelligible this most difficult book. Our chief obstacle to understanding a great part of the Bible lies not so much in the actual text as in the mentality of its authors. The Semites did not think as we do,

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our thought-patterns are as distant as east from west. Hence, some appreciation of Hebrew modes of thinking is going to offer an important key to unlocking the message of the Apocalypse. But that is not all. The growing awareness that the prophets of the Old Testament wrote from the standpoint of their own times has led scholars to see that the starting-point of this New Testament work (which tradition has always recognized as manifesting prophetic traits) was the author's contemporary situation. In this attempt to unravel the complicated snarl of problems tied up in the Apocalypse, we must let ourselves be guided by those two threads.

In the years following the return of the Jews from their Exile, despite the preaching of such late prophets as Haggai, Zechariah, Joel and Malachi, it became apparent that the previous vehicle for divine revelation, prophecy, was receding before a new expression: apocalyptic. This was a fusion of the ancient eschatological oracle (concerned with the coming era and the awful "Day of Yahweh") with the prophetic vision (of the "new times"), and consisted in the revelation ("apocalypse") of divine secrets manifested in dreams and symbolic visions. This new art-form arose from the seeking of fervent souls, in those bitterly disappointing post-Exilic years, for an understanding of their present disillusionment in a future realization of God's plan for them. A new world was brought in to redress the balance of the old.

If we try to define the characteristics of the literary form of apocalyptic, we shall find that three main trends may be listed. There is first of all an over-weening delight in symbols and visions. We are introduced to a weird symbolism of numbers, beasts, names in a *décor* that Impressionism itself could never have conjured up. It should have been (but not always was) obvious even to the most literal-minded expositor that these marvels were not to be taken at their face value. They stood for something else. A second facet of apocalyptic is that its absorbing interest in the ultimate issues of God's plan for the world includes an almost vindictive and savage gloating over the downfall of the enemies of God and of the nation. Even the whole order of nature is involved in what has been (recently) termed a "cosmic break-up": the stars fall from their places, the sun no longer gives its light, the moon is turned into blood, the sea gives up its dead. Finally, amid such luxuriant splendour can be discerned the relics of prophecy whose ghost had not yet been completely laid. The apocalypses in Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel were followed by numerous non-canonical successors (like the Qumrân *War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness*), but while there are undoubtedly family resemblances among all this *genre*, the vagaries traceable in the non-canonical apocalypses are mercifully absent from those included in the Bible. Similar passports may be produced by all, but an attentive scrutiny will linger over the special particularities.

If we turn to the one apocalypse which the New Testament has retained in its Canon, that of St. John, we may expect to find in it some of these notes of apocalyptic. In the first place, we encounter symbols and visions. For purposes of convenience, we may distinguish a triple catalogue of symbols and offer what many believe to be their correct deciphering. After the

seven letters to the Churches of Asia Minor, we are shown a heavenly *liturgy*. The long robe and golden cincture worn by the Son of Man (an image borrowed from the book of Daniel) signify the priesthood and royalty of Christ; his white hair, burning eyes, feet of bronze tell us of his eternity, divine knowledge and lasting stability; the two-edged sword which issued from his mouth symbolizes the pronouncement of death-dealing decrees which will effect the destruction of the persecutors of God's Church. Among the numerous assistants at the Throne are the twenty-four elders who thus link up the present scene with the orders of priests classified in 1 Chronicles (and recalled to us in Luke 1:5, where we read that Zechariah was performing the duties of the sanctuary in his *turn* — that of Abijah). The "seven spirits" are reminiscent of the book of Tobit where Raphael declares himself to be one of the seven who stand in the presence of God. The four living creatures — the *Hayim* of Ezekiel — lion, bull, man and eagle, represent that which is noble, strong, intelligent and agile in creation. (We are accustomed to designate the Evangelists by these symbols.) The crowns worn by the angels tell of their governing role over the world, and the horns and eyes of the Lamb attribute power and knowledge to It. The incense burnt here as elsewhere in the Apocalypse denotes the prayers offered before the throne of God.

A second chapter of symbols describes the *destruction* to be meted out to the godless in three series of disasters: seven seals broken — the divine decrees are to become effective; seven trumpets — the processional heralding God's destroying entry; seven bowls smashed — God's anger is to be poured out over the world. The four horsemen who emerge after the breaking of the first seal in a scenario which is nothing if not prismatic conjure up the Parthian cavalry which contributed so greatly to the fall of Rome. It will be noted by close readers of the Apocalypse that the opening of the seventh seal introduces us to the series of trumpets — we are working, as it were, in ever-widening circles. The cosmic upheaval and the seven plagues visited on the nations all belong to the same destructive symbolism promising final vindication.

A third group of symbols is found in the *dramatis personae* and the *numbers* which are sprinkled over the pages of the Apocalypse. The divinity connoted by "Alpha and Omega" is more obvious than the unusual "Amen" given to God. "Abaddon" and its Greek equivalent "Apollyon" signify "destruction" and the Plain of Megiddo, the time-honored battlefield for supremacy in the Palestinian Corridor, becomes the scene of eschatological disaster — "Armageddon." "Gog and Magog" are terms co-opted from Ezekiel to designate the pagan nations assembled against the Church. But it is perhaps against Rome and her rulers that invective is most generously hurled through with a nice economy of terms. She is "Babylon," the "great harlot," her empire the "Beast" (also said of Nero), her emperor-worship "Satan's throne." As to those cryptic numbers, we are told that "four" is the symbolic number for the cosmos, that "seven" denotes perfection, that "one hundred and forty-four thousand" is the sacred number (twelve) squared and multiplied by a thousand to show mass. "Seven thousand" covers people of all social classes

("seven") within the great number ("thousand"). The term "foursquare," occurring in chapter 21:16, we may easily decipher as meaning "fully perfect." The quaint "a time, and times, and half a time" is taken to mean three and a half years — the forty-two months of 11:2 — the duration-type of all persecutions which derives from Daniel. Lastly, "six hundred and sixty-six" discreetly indicate Nero by representing the sum of the numerical values the letters of his name possessed in Hebrew.

To those who have inquired "Why did not John give us a plain tale instead of this cryptogram to be decoded almost term by term" it has been answered that a "disguise" was expedient in view of his troubled times — his intended readers would possess the key to the puzzle where unauthorized aliens would be completely at a loss. That this was in fact what could happen nobody can deny, and its utility in this respect should not be overlooked. But the literary form of apocalyptic was not devised simply to hoodwink the authorities; it derives from a greater need. Besides being an escape-valve of fantasy for the repressions of a bitterly suffering people, apocalyptic (in its better examples) demanded an adventure of faith and trust into an unknown world. It affirmed that history, too, came under the providence of God and its final issues lie in the unseen but directing hand of God. And its very inadequacy to nullify present suffering turned eyes towards the future, to the future life. The very mystery of God's providence suggested a use of symbols in any striving to express that mystery, caught only in tantalizing glimpses and beyond the normal means of expression. Let us attempt to sketch God's glory in heaven, His plan of history, the role of the cosmic Christ, the final beauty of the Church — and we shall resort to symbols of contemporary design which a later generation will need to demythologise.

The second characteristic we have noted in this highly specialized art-form of apocalyptic is its inclination to delight in the coming destruction of the national persecutors. We shall find, however, in the Apocalypse of St. John that while the approaching doom of the nations is emphasized, it is seen as no more than a just punishment for the wrongs they have committed. They are to be punished *qua* evil-doers — not *qua* opponents to Jewish sovereignty, a trait which marks non-canonical apocalyptic. In other words, John's Apocalypse has in mind the just vindication of the rights of God and the Church — a thesis we will rashly impugn. Further, opportunities for a repentance which will avert total disaster are offered but rejected. As in the case of Pharaoh, the seven plagues serve only to harden oppression. And John does not scruple to point out the real cause of the troubles afflicting the Church. The imperial despotism was no mere police action; behind it lay supreme malice — the malice of Satan.

We have noted earlier that apocalyptic was an outgrowth of prophetism, and in the New Testament Apocalypse the element of prophecy is strong. While employing the style, imagery and procedure of Jewish apocalyptic, it remains faithful to the great tradition of the ancient prophets. Like the prophets, the author has a passion for the salvation of souls (as the seven opening letters will show) and wishes to reply to the most vexatious prob-

lems of his time. This prophetic core in the Apocalypse has always been recognized in tradition, but an oblique view of the nature of prophecy had the unfortunate effect of seeing the contents of the Apocalypse as a detailed blue-print of events to be pursued during the history of the Church. For many, the Book was little more than a sop to their curiosity — it was made to reveal secrets it never concealed. But not only is the Apocalypse firmly embedded in the prophetic tradition; it has no hesitations in borrowing from Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel to an extent which is nothing short of plagiarising. We can even go further. John has exploited the Old Testament in such a way that no less than five hundred Old Testament allusions decorate his work. Have we, then, nothing more than a thinly disguised compilation, a "resultant text" offering the best readings from past Jewish literature? On the contrary. While John has pressed into service the Old Testament he has done so within a Christian perspective. The late date of the Apocalypse ensures that period of reflection necessary to the appreciation of how the Old Testament was being fulfilled in the New, of how the ancient themes were now being interwoven to form the full picture. We have here a Christian mind which has re-thought the data of the past in terms of the present Christian dispensation. The language we are listening to, however, still retains its Jewish accent.

Even when we have investigated the literary form of apocalyptic, with its symbolism, vindication and prophetism, and seen what light this can shed on the meaning of our Apocalypse, we are still a far throw from grasping the message bequeathed to us. We have already observed that the author's own standpoint must be our starting-point for the interpretation of his message (as in the case for the Old Testament prophetic writings,) but (like, once more, those same ancient writings) this message does not stop there. Its sights are set on more distant targets also. How, then, are we to approach this question of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, how define its objectives? Scholars are not agreed on a solution, differing like star from star. Yet, each proposal has its own helpful contribution to make to illumine the problem. We may, with Père Feuillet, distinguish no less than seven different approaches to the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

In the first instance there is *Millenarianism* which is based on Apoc. 20: 1-6 and which, in varying ways, proposes a thousand-year reign of Christ before his Parousia. We may summarily dismiss the crass literalism of certain medieval interpreters and their modern followers who see in this text a pre-Parousia coming of Christ down to earth, followed by such a reign. Einar Molland, in his *Christendom* (a recent ecumenical survey of the sects found within Christianity), tells us that a fabulous building has been erected in America containing even more fabulous apartments designed to accommodate the *entourage* of Christ during the millennium. (One has the uneasy suspicion that the present — but only temporary — occupants will enjoy an undisturbed tenure.) There are other considerable authorities, however, who suggest a spiritual and symbolic interpretation of the same text. Augustine, after the precedent of Irenaeus, Justin, Hippolytus and Tertullian, thinks that

the thousand years is contemporary with the whole earthly phase of the Kingdom of God, from the Resurrection and Ascension onwards. But it is difficult to reconcile this view of the millennium — which supposes precisely that Satan is enchained — with the evidence provided by John that he is still provoking the terrible crises which bring such intense suffering to the Church. It is John's care to show that *after* the persecutions of Rome, there will be relief. Hence, Fr. Boisnard advances the view (already gaining wide acceptance) that the "thousand years" corresponds to the earthly phase of the Church from the end of the persecutions fomented by Rome until the end of time. And so the return of Christ described in Apoc. 19:11ff must be understood in a symbolic sense) or may even form a doublet, a repetition, of 20:7-11). Although the Church has never condemned Millenarianism, a decree of the Holy Office (21 July 1944) states *tuto doceri non posse*. What is attacked in this decree is the idea that Christ will return visibly upon the earth before the Parousia. Those who hold (like Feret) that a flowering of Christian civilization will grace the world before its consummation are at liberty to do so.

A second method of interpretation of the Apocalypse, which claims names like Allo, Bonsirven and Cerfaux in support, is that which attempts to see in this Book a series of *recapitulations* — the successive cycles of visions (seven seals, seven trumpets, seven bowls) are merely presentations of the same disasters, complementary signs, parallel to one another, which herald the last things. This opinion, which so admirably simplifies matters, has also in its favor the fact that we cannot discover in the relevant parts of the Apocalypse any constant chronological progression. But in this debate of recapitulation v. continuous narrative, authors like R. H. Charles (whose great knowledge of apocalyptic has proved immensely valuable to the last generation) and Ernst Lohmeyer have voted for continuous narrative: successive events do follow a strict sequence; their case seems to be strengthened by such a verse as 15:1, "seven angels with seven plagues, which are the last, for with them the wrath of God is ended."

A third approach tends to see in the Apocalypse a detailed forecast of the whole run of history — the method of *universal history*. This interpretation of the episodes in the Apocalypse, which had a resounding success in the Middle Ages, gives rise to the notion of the seven ages of the world. Each period of history, however, in this view was colored by the hopes of its commentator: his times were "hard" and consequently accommodated to those critical times of the Apocalypse which were to usher in the end. Now while it is evidently too much to expect the Apocalypstist to plot minutely the future unrolling of the Church's history, so satisfying to our curiosity, still it remains true that certain capital stages of the religious history of humanity are envisaged by him. What is revealed is less the successive events of history taken in themselves, but more their true bearing in relation to God's Kingdom. While the future is not announced in detail, it is prophesied that the oppression suffered by the Church must end in a total check; God will have the last word.

This Christian philosophy of history, affirming that *de jure* sovereignty belongs to God, which sovereignty will be asserted *de facto* in God's own time when He will pass judgment on all evil and recognize true merit, must, however, derive from an examination of the *data* presented by John. The method of *contemporary history*, situating the Apocalypse within the framework of John's contemporary situation offers, therefore, a welcome corrective to the previous approach. The realization that his eye was primarily on his own time delivers us from the need to scour history books to detect his characters and their roles. But while this interpretation is such a corrective, its weakness lies in confining the message of the Apocalypse to John's period. He had more to offer than that.

A fifth thesis is concerned to limit that message to the end of time. Dealing neither with the past nor the present, the Apocalypse is orientated towards describing the end of the world and the signs which will precede it — and all these things were at hand. Now while it is doubtlessly true that the Apocalypse does envisage the Parousia and the completion of history, it is forcing the texts to attempt to prove that the author was inculcating the naïve conviction that the Parousia was chronologically at hand. The *eschatological* interpretation fails to take sufficient notice of John's emphasis on the victorious Christ, Lord of History, exercising a real but hidden mastery over the forces of evil which are so utterly opposed to him. Their end is near in that the plan of God for the world is on the point of being realized completely. The end is in sight, the final age has arrived.

The question: Whence did John draw the materials for his work? has given rise to a further method of interpretation — the method of *literary analysis*. That much came to him in visions, as he claims, cannot be overlooked, and we have already noted the part played by the Old Testament in John's thought-pattern. However, this is a far cry from the efforts of scholars at the close of the last century who saw in the Apocalypse a compilation of older apocalyptic material. Vischer of Germany asserted that the bulk of the book was a previous Jewish apocalypse made Christian by the addition of a prologue and an epilogue with a few interpolations within the body of the work. The Christian element was no more than an ingredient, a spice. Modern scholars, however, on the whole are becoming less favorable to such hardy hypotheses which turn the Apocalypse into a casual compilation of diverse sources; the unity of inspiration and of style are opposed to it. Still, the book is not a simple account of visions, Old Testament allusions and Christian ideas shaped by a master-mind. It results from a work of reflection and composition which must have used pre-existing elements, and it is legitimate to attempt to define the pre-history of the text. We may, with Boisnard, distinguish two primitive texts written by the same author at different times, then fused into one text — our Apocalypse — by another hand. Using this hypothesis much can be done to explain the doublets, ruptures in the series of visions, passages apparently out of context. To take one example, the "New Jerusalem" of chapters 21-22 — is it one "city" or two? We can discern two descriptions: one which presents it as the messianic city, the

Church on earth, in chapters 21:9–22:15, and another which has rather in mind the eternal city, the Church glorious and triumphant when time has passed away, in chapter 21:1–8. Fr Boismard suggests that a “Text I” offered the “messianic Jerusalem” and a “Text II” the “heavenly Jerusalem.” One would expect the “messianic Jerusalem” to precede the heavenly one since it prefigures it. Nevertheless, we might refrain from exposing ourselves to the Seer’s curse (22:19) by rearranging those chapters.

Finally, there is the *comparative* method of interpretation with its two departments for home affairs (examining the contents of the Apocalypse in the light of traditional Christian material and biblical sources, an aspect we have already discussed) and foreign affairs. This latter attempts to disentangle *motifs* from pagan mythology — for example, the evil *Angro-mainyu* in conflict with the good *Ahura-mazda*, the Zoroastrian *fravashis* or “folk angels” — which have been laid under contribution for a Christian syncretist religion. While the last generation of scholars has tended to recoil from such hazardous parallels in Comparative Religion, we can still remark the occasional unfashionable reminiscence of such hypotheses. The background to John’s Christian thought is biblical, not pagan, and the Old Testament it is that must clarify his references since his Apocalypse is to a certain point the re-reading of the Old in the light of the New. The hands held out to us may be the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

We have observed that these methods of interpretation offer some help towards understanding the Apocalypse, and we have tried to single out that contribution in each case. We may now move on to consider the Apocalypse in those perspectives.

A specific time of crisis gave rise to the writing of the Apocalypse. Whether the John who wrote it (1:1) is St. John the Evangelist or another John (variously referred to as “John the Elder” or “John the Seer”) attached to his circle of influence need not detain us. “It seems,” Kiddle remarks, “that the authorship of *Revelation* may prove the one mystery of the book which will never be revealed in this world.” What is important is that it was written to fortify the Christian morale during a time of such persecution that the question must have risen unbidden to many lips: How can this be our fate when *He* has said “Fear not, I have conquered the world?” Nero, or *Nero redivivus*, Domitian, is indicated as the perpetrator of this early “final solution” which discredited the closing years of the first century.

John accepts the challenge and, to realize his aim, takes up the two great themes of traditional prophetism favored by apocalyptic writers: the “great Day of Yahweh,” full of impending doom, and the “new times” of peace and happiness in the established Kingdom of God. The Church, the new People of God, decimated by a ferocious persecution, would be vindicated and merit an eternal recompense.

After the Letters to the seven Churches of Asia Minor (whose historical geography has been so well made known to us by Ramsay and others), an opening vision in chapter four portrays the majesty of God in heaven, absolute master of human destiny. Into this liturgical scene enters the Lamb of

God to whom is made over the book containing the decrees of extermination of the oppressors which begin to take shape, in chapter six, with the invasion of the barbarian Parthians who set in motion the usual *cortège* of war, pest and famine. We catch a glimpse of the faithful, preserved from these evils while awaiting their definitive happiness in heaven. Strangely enough, a similar mercy is shown the persecutors: a series of plagues can be the occasion of their conversion, but, as in the case of the Egyptians, this overture evokes no such response. God will destroy these impious corruptors who would divert the world to the Roman emperor-worship, and a lament on Rome is sung only to be echoed by songs of triumph in heaven. A further vision takes up this theme of the destruction of Rome — but the destruction this time is effected by Christ.

The perspective of the “new times” begins to govern the Apocalypse from chapter twenty — there is a period of prosperity for the Church which is terminated, however, by a renewed attack of Satan who is overthrown. We are then faced with the resurrection of the dead and the judgment. With death itself no more, chapter twenty-one opens up the vista of the Church in glory; a retrospective vision, recalling the perfection of that same Church, the new Jerusalem, during its reign on earth, closes the book.

But John’s message of consolation and encouragement was not confined to those of his own time. We have already observed that he offers us a philosophy of history: the whole sweep of the historical process is under God’s control and the life, death and resurrection of Christ, the Lamb of God of both the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, have a direct bearing on everything, the Church in particular. The basic structure of the Apocalypse of the struggle of the sons of darkness against the sons of light (a theme common also to the Fourth Gospel) transcends any particular phase of history, but behind that struggle lies the permanent vision of faith recorded in chapters four and five of the Apocalypse: God maintains a controlling interest over earthly catastrophes, subordinating them to His divine plan. In fact, they are part of that same plan. There may be a “pause,” as it were, in the divine economy to enable Christians to stabilize their relationship to Him, a challenge that demands the response of faith, but the reward is certain.

And why? Because (often enough despite appearances) God is with His people. The *Shekinah*, His Presence, transitory in the Old Testament, is here to stay. God has taken up a permanent dwelling with His people, the Church. One great hope of the Old Dispensation has been fulfilled. But the figure of the Son of Man in the midst of the vision of heaven tells us that still another ancient expectation is being realized — the ascent of humanity to God. The closing chapters of the Apocalypse show that state finally attained: the Church is clothed at last in the glory that was hers from the beginning. The Bride is sharing in the privileges of the Bridegroom, Paradise has been regained.

If we were to try and seek what role John would have us play during this interval before the last act of the drama of redemption, we shall find it is that of witness: witness to the work of Christ as a past event, a present ex-

perience and a future hope. This may entail some suffering — it is not without interest that we find the Greek word *martyria* ("bearing witness") hardening, in the Apocalypse, into our "martyrdom." Yet that great Victory Hymn of the persecuted Church still echoes its epic of Christian hope, and its rewarding and consolatory promise is held out to us.

THE ERA OF THE CHURCH IN SAINT JOHN

André Feuillet, S.S.

The history of the Judeo-Christian religion is a history of salvation, a history that progresses through three phases or "ages." There is the Old Testament age of preparation, the age of Christ's sojourn on earth, and the age of the Church — the time from Christ's ascension till the parousia.

Each of these eras is distinguished by its own particular characteristics. A man who is Christian finds himself in religious surroundings very different from those of a Jew living under the Old Covenant or from those of a disciple hurrying after Jesus on the roads of Galilee or Judea. The age of the Christian is the age of the Church, which was born in the redemptive drama of Good Friday and the victory of Easter morning. The following pages attempt to define the characteristics of this third age in salvation history.

The synoptic Gospels show us a Church, a messianic community, inseparable from the conviction of Jesus that he was the promised Messiah. The Gospel of John is richer even than Matthew in ecclesiology in proportion as it is Christological, showing the Incarnate Son of God revealing to men the mysterious treasures of divine life. John is the only one of the evangelists to emphasize the connection between Jesus and the Church. John's whole theme is the "Hour of Jesus," which is also the hour of the Church and of the sacraments. Christ's ministry, his preaching, his miracles are seen as more than a mere anticipation of a distant future. "The hour is coming and now is here" (4:23; 5:25).

Apocalypse a complement

Difficult though it is, the Apocalypse is an almost indispensable complement to the fourth Gospel — not because it offers any entirely new insights but because more clearly than the Gospel it expresses certain concrete aspects of the age of the Church. More than that, the Apocalypse locates the Chris-

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tian community within the context of the history of the world. It can be seen as a kind of continuation of the prophets, of 1 and 2 Isaiah especially; it is a kind of Christian Book of Daniel. That is why we plan to give the Apocalypse a supporting role in our presentation, which we will conclude by a consideration of the magnificent figure of the Woman — the people of God — a symbol which recapitulates what John teaches us about the age of the Church.

We proceed then directly to the heart of the fourth Gospel where we find — in the Last Supper discourse — Christ's teaching about what his disciples are to be after he has left them. This teaching is completed and illustrated by chapters nineteen to twenty-one, where details of the death and resurrection awaken us to a realization of what it is Jesus has promised his followers.

Man's greatness is focused by the Bible on the fact that he can enter into dialogue with God, as contrasted with the Greek stress upon his abstract reflection on what God is in himself. The dialogue of the Christian with the divine persons is typified in three points of the fourteenth and sixteenth chapters of John's Gospel: 1) Jesus will go away but will return, to be more closely than ever united with his disciples; 2) the Father will care for them with special solicitude from the time of Christ's departure to the time of the parousia; 3) the Father and Son will send the Holy Spirit to enlighten and fortify the disciples.

We would like first to examine what the Gospel says about the hour of the Church in reference to man's relationship with each of these three Persons. Later we shall briefly discuss the era of the Church from the viewpoint of the disciples' interrelationships.

Christ with men

The efficacious presence of the risen Christ is the outstanding characteristic of the age of the Church according to John 14-16. Disturbed by the prospect of Christ's departure, the apostles are reassured that they will not be left orphans (14:18). It is true that the unbelieving world will think Jesus has disappeared forever, that he has faded away into history. But the disciples will know that his saddening departure is to be followed immediately by his return — and by a joy at his return like the joy of a mother who has brought a new human being into existence (14:18f; 16:19f). Though he will be yet invisible to the world, the Savior will make himself visible to his own: "Yet a little while and the world no longer sees me; but you see me, for I live and you shall live" (14:19).

These promises are made not only to the Twelve but to all believers of all times, according to the measure of their faith in him. Their assurance of the presence beside them of the glorious Christ will fill them with a joy which "no one shall take away" (16:22) because it will be in his divine victory that they will be made joyful (17:13). He will come as a friend and, together with his Father, will dwell with them (14:23), that they may be led to the many heavenly abodes prepared for them (14:2-3). The only condi-

although in either word it may show any gradation between the long *e* and an indeterminate vowel sound. Combinations of vowels are also indicated: *oi* as in oil; *ou* as in out; *aw* as in paw.

It has been impossible, within the framework of this simplified system, to represent the exact pronunciation of many foreign words and proper names which have entered the medical vocabulary. They have been represented as well as possible by an English approximation.

The important key to remember in interpreting the phonetic respelling is that an unmarked vowel not followed by a consonant has the long value; one followed by a consonant has the short. A long vowel which must perforce be followed by a consonant is indicated by use of the macron; a short vowel ending its respective syllable is indicated by use of the breve.

PRESENTATION OF PLURAL FORMS

The plural of a word which is irregularly formed or of a foreign word is given following the phonetic respelling and often, but not invariably, is given a separate bold face listing in proper alphabetical order. Alternate plurals (e.g., exanthemas, exanthemata) are frequently shown. Subentries appear in proper alphabetical order, determined by the subsequent, modifying word or phrases, regardless of whether they are singular or plural. For example, under *ligamentum*, the entries

- l. annulare baseos stapedis
- ligamenta annularia digitorum manus
- ligamenta annularia digitorum pedis
- l. annulare radii
- ligamenta annularia (trachealia)

appear in that order.

ETYMOLOGY

Information on the derivation of a word appears in square brackets following the phonetic respelling, or following the plural form of the word, when that is given. Greek characters are no longer used in presentation of the etymological information in the vocabulary portion of this book,* being transliterated into the English alphabet as shown in the following tabulation:

initial	α = a	λ = l	
"	ἀ = a	μ = m	
"	ἄ = ha	ν = n	
diphthong	αι = ai	ξ = x	
initial	αι = ai	ο = o	
"	αι = hai	initial	ὀ = o
diphthong	αυ = au	"	ὁ = ho
initial	αὐ = au	diphthong	οι = oi
"	αὐ = hau	initial	οι = oi
"	β = b	"	οι = hoi
"	γ = g	diphthong	ου = ou
γγ	= ng [as in "angeion"]	initial	οὐ = ou
γκ	= nk [as in "ankyle"]	"	οὐ = hou
γξ	= nx [as in "salpinx"]	"	π = p
γκ	= nch [as in "anchousa"]	initial	ρ = r
δ = d		ρ	= rh
initial	ε = e	ρρ	= rrh [used in compounds,
"	ἐ = e		although the root has
diphthong	εῖ = he		only initial rh, e.g.
initial	ει = ei		diarrhoia—(English)
"	ει = ei		diarrhea]
diphthong	ευ = eu	σ, s	= s
initial	εὐ = eu	τ = t	
"	εὐ = heu	υ = y	
initial	ζ = z	initial	ὀ does not occur]
"	η = ē	"	ὀ = hy
"	ῆ = ē	diphthong	υι = ui
"	θ = hē	initial	υι = hui
"	θ = th	"	φ = ph
"	ι = i	"	χ = ch
initial	ί = i	"	ψ = ps
"	ι = hi	"	ω = ō
"	κ = k	initial	ὦ = ō
		"	ὦ = hō

*The Greek characters do appear, however, in the section entitled Fundamentals of Medical Etymology (pp. xvii-xxix).

I Cor 6-9

effeminate, nor abusers of themselves
& mankind. KJV

μαλακοί
Voluptuous,
soft

ἀρσενοκοίται
sodomites

Pedosexual.

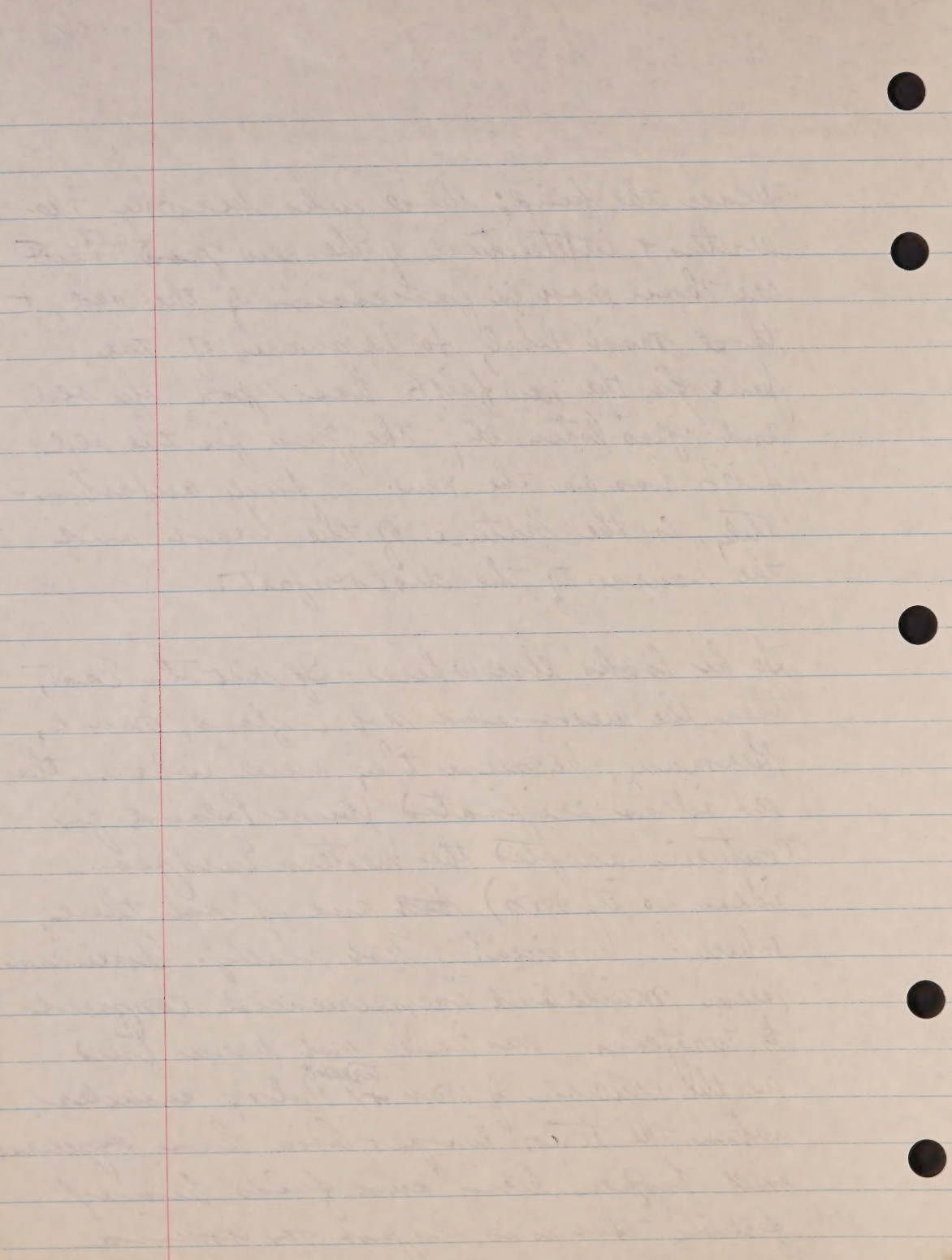
strong ones

εἰκόνες
Images.

p. 159

Hence the hind; those who become the
writers & intellectuals of the new ^{faith} movement
are those most in possession of the old, &
those most likely to be aware of the
poor fit the new faith has upon the old
and ipso laterally, the poor fit the old
faith has on the new. Such, unfortun-
ately, is the nature of the beast and
the source of the discomfort.

So he looks else where - If not the East,
then the West - and not England, France,
Germany, because they were where the
old ideas originated (since Poland for
centuries adapted the Western European
ideas as its own) ~~but~~ and if not there,
where? America? Not really. Americans
seem naive and inexperienced compared
to Europeans. We have not been tried
in the crucible of war & ^{terrorism} military wonders.
When the terror Europe & Asia have experienced
will happen here and finds himself
feeling that it is unjust for America



to have escaped thus far (30). Particularly since his exposure to the Diamat, he keeps wondering ~~if~~ when the predicted (by the fall) will come - if Fascism is doomed ^{by the fall} (and by Eastern terminology America is Fascist) when will the end come? Yet, he sees the masses in the West enjoying a standard of living far beyond what the masses of the East can even imagine. But the mass culture of the West is unimpressive to Europeans. Obviously, much of Western (particularly U.S.) culture is mindless and occasioned only by producers beguiled by marketing researchers who tell them who the markets are and who is purchasing - and since disposable income is often in the hands of the very young, thence the common culture becomes what is produced in accordance with these tenets.

If the Roman Church, which for all intents and purposes is the church available in Poland, ~~can~~ ~~feature~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ can do for their people ~~what~~ with scripture what the Black Church in America, for instance, has done with the Biblical theme of a people carried away into slavery, the possibilities are endless. The theme of dispersion and restoration is a mighty one in the major and minor prophets and as Christians we are not left without a voice — but can a church which has centered on a very different view of scriptural religion (i.e. contemplation of the dying Jesus) turn and offer the kind of Biblical religion which the Jews had (and which sustained them in the Concentration Camps) and which American Blacks have, which sustains them even today.

The difficulty I have in dealing with Alpha is that the possibility always exists of selling out - and each person has a price and puts a value on what ~~they~~^{it} needed to survive. Not everyone has the gift of martyrdom - and as one of my colleagues reminded NCC clergy at a conference recently - it is a gift that can only be used once. But Alpha's importance and his ability to ~~touch~~ use common symbols to reach essential truths were such that he could sway untold numbers & he did not look at his responsibility to those he was moving to be ethical with them. But must not be dishonest, it is essentially the last stand of truth - other wise it is only didacticism & didacticism is not art. Alpha became successful but at the price of ^{his} his soul, but the lives & souls of others.

Salidarnos - worker's antagonism -

Quote from Fredk Douglass.

Interplay 203 CM c quote on
872.

Effect of a revaluation like
effect of a flood. 6 feet
of silt over everything
& much torn up -
There is no way back to
the status quo ante the
revaluation, because much
that was there is no longer
present.

The final chapter is a ~~let~~
lesson in history. Russia is
not the first nation to under-
stand and use dispersal
of populations as a means
of conquest. Anyone who has

Alpha - The moralist, raising young
loyalists who believed in what he
wrote, only to see them killed in
the Warsaw uprising and later - if
they had survived - ~~settled~~^{labeled} by the
Russians as being too loyal to their
own nation and not able to be
believers in the New Faith. Alpha's
readers were caught between forces
which were none of their doing.

Alpha mocked the absurdity that
hoped for a sudden political change.
He compared the old intelligentsia,
~~vainglorious & outmoded~~, with the
^{ethical} purity of the New Faith. The Party
applauded and he was rewarded.
Faced with having to adhere to
"socialist realism" however, he bled.
His denunciation of his own past
and his work was not demanded of
him - it was a gift he made to the
Party.

read the bible sees the process by which the Children of Israel were taken into captivity and their land overrun with strangers. Any Jew would understand the diaspora. History repeats and repeats & repeats endlessly the same themes. Woe to a world that will not learn the lessons of history.

Milosz, in reading history, forgets the the effects of the French Revolution were more far-reaching than just the short instantaneous blood bath. Without the revolution, there would have been no Napoleon and the whole of Europe would have been spared a blood bath which culminated in economic

what Hilosy suggests is that people in the Centuries are looking for is indeed a New faith — warlike that will bear the seeds of hope for the future (40) Christianity, for example, is looked at but not to. A reborn Christianity might be ~~the~~ important as a carrier of that message but of what stripe? Protestant fundamentalism, dormant main-line protestantism, catholicism, some combination yet to be dreamed of?

mark and is a possibility
when all other hope of
reaching the masses is
possible.

Modern totalitarian states have
had to dispose of the Jew - and
one suspects that a basic
reason for anti-Semitism is that
the Jews are the "people of the
Book." What the Bible addresses
so poignantly is the very ^{question} ~~stuff~~
of which Milosz's last chapter
asks. How can a people live
under constant fear? The
Biblical answer is: with constant
hope! ~~The Bible talks about~~
The Red Starkest, in the voices of
the prophets, speaks to a people
who are captive

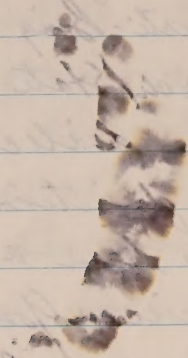
"How can we sing the Lord's
song in a strange land?

etc.

ruin for some nations and
which prepared the way for
the very revolution he
decries. Perhaps even now
some force is moving which
will change the situation
in Eastern Europe. Certainly,
unless people continue to permit
the situation there to exist
(using Murli-Bing) ^{and} keep alive
their true feelings ^{using} & let man
in any other process which allows
independent thought; so long
as people dare, there is hope.
Fahrenheit 451 points to a truth;
ideas do not have to be written
down and ours has been a
print-oriented culture since
Gutenberg and a script-oriented
culture since long before that
probably dating to the Jews,
but an oral tradition in the
world predates any written

Milosz in his description of Kertész
talks about the ^{high moral} demand the Party
makes upon its members. Asceticism
stands high as a requirement for
those devoted to the Revolution. The
Revolution is puritanical, but wasn't
that what the Fr. Rev. demanded
of its followers and wasn't the

than half measures. Is Hungary/Poland
in the hands of the Catholic intelligentsia
a better place for human beings than
Musi-Brig? Is thought control by ^{by sin (for example)}
Church/State better for human beings
than dialectical materialism? From
the position of a gay person who
has been a communist (I joined
American Youth for Democracy in 1945) and
who is a Christian, after many years of
oppression by the church, unfortunately
I find myself still playing Ketman
in America in a thousand ways and
still find my own liberty threatened
not by thought control but by sexual
control - but it would be so under
the other ^{western} puritans as well. What
Milosz brings home to me is the
certainty of my having to wish a
"pay on both their houses," and the
responsibility to continue to search
for some new voice, some new
philosophy, some new Messiah to
arise and set us all free.



The Capture Mind made me wary. To have been a homosexual in America for 40+ years and to hear the same people yelling (through the years) "Punks, Communist, homosexual" in the same breath, and to know that the allies of these people are the religious right (rite) and the right wing intellectuals made many of my "be on guard" sensors alert. Additionally, my grandmother is a Hungarian once-refugee, who came to America running as a Baptist from one of Hungary's holy wars - where the victor was the Catholic Church & the intelligentsia then in power. I have grown wary.

Thelma means a spell. She is indeed able to understand Murti-Bing and its calming power. For people who have lost everything in war after war and who are asked to risk one more time to fight the only order that even looks capable of bringing order out of utter chaos, Murti-Bing is to ~~be~~ swallow before one is swallowed. My grandfather said of the Hungarians

revolt, "It is very hard to drop bombs from the backs of farm wagons." Bricks, the Hungarians found, were not an effective weapon against tanks. Better Murli Bing - and this too will pass, as have all the others. Apathy - despite being on the other side of rebellion, not joining the oppressor.

I was most impressed with his speaking as a poet, and realizing that poets need their own culture and language both as vehicle and as audience, and to learn to think, he acculturated, & eventually to write well enough in a second (or third) language to regain one's standing as a literary figure of some note would be a very long process. For him to weigh that against staying and working for the oppressor but being able to continue working at least somewhat effectively in some part of one's chosen field was the most important consideration. With that, he was no one. So he no one is to die professionally & artistically.

That leads to socialist realism. Maloszy's acceptance of the discipline of socialist realism as a condition of his being allowed to publish — and his artistic conscience eventually ~~to~~ rebelling against what is essentially non-art but political didactic (and certainly the Church would probably be the first to recognize didacticism, for what it really is — certainly non-art) placed Maloszy in an untenable position. He could not write, not speak out against, and certainly in good faith could not speak for.

Yet, is there not something in the convalescence period following a social revolution (political revolution) which makes it necessary for a period of time during which the new nation must enforce loyalty from its citizenry and even its intellectuals or it must be another abortive attempt to overturn the status quo.

To be sure Eastern Europe sans Russia has a long tradition of trying to maintain small national states and against the encroaching power of larger, more powerful neighbors (& non-neighbors in the Siedrich-Palau takeovers). How eventually, even the more assured Poland, Hungary, the Baltic and Balkan states sovereignty and the freedom to pursue their own goals without the West/East tug-of-war or threats of domination. This is not a new battle for these countries, it goes back to Attila the Hun. The methods have changed, & the attempt to change the total national ideology, culture, language & political base is new, but from the ^{view} point of the oppressor nation more effective than what has gone before — which does not make it right, but certainly more pragmatic. If you sit out to do anything, the most effective way is better.

Harmon

Questions that need answers - Since Catholicism / Lutheranism / Anglicanism etc. are primarily state churches and if the state dies does religion also die? If this is so, what about religion which is not a state church, but which requires voluntary adherence. Does this religion also die when the state dies? Are the free churches also dying in Europe?

Why is the church (and its influence) growing in the 3rd world? $\frac{2}{3}$ of the believers ^{in Christianity} are now 3rd world.

Is it possible that God as the God of the powerful is dying - but by the very nature of Christianity and Judaism, God is the God of the weak & oppressed and therefore as nations become aware of their oppression, Christianity & the Bible have more meaning - but as the powerful find the old faith which bolstered the status quo of the rich & the powerful no longer available, there

Christianity dies, and a new Hianity,
closer to its historical root begins to
take form

My reaction to the book is a little hard to describe, possibly because I was conflicted in my reception to it. My grandmother is Hungarian but escaped from Hungary in the 1890's when there was a great reaction to Baptists on the part of the Catholics then in power. I think I grew up feeling that Communism had to be better than what had gone before when the intelligentsia (particularly the Catholic intelligentsia) held the reins. Okay, so the worker's paradise is not paradise but the Eastern European countries - and Russia - were never paradise unless one was part of the privileged class.

Having first gotten through my own anger and distrust of Melosy's purpose - whose side was he on anyway - certainly not on the side of the revolutionaries! - was this just another anti-communist ploy, another attempt to tell us how

good we are + how bad "they" are,
and enlist our sympathies to
the ~~for~~ side of the displaced
middle class in Poland (Eastern
Europe).

I then settled down and be-
gan to trust Philoz. His discussion
of dialectical materialism and
socialist realism and the attendant
difficulties for artists, writers + other
intellectuals began to make sense,
and ~~to~~ I began to share the
atmosphere of his frustration as
a poet and writer. Ketrman as
an intellectual discipline for
dealing with thought control was
powerful. I began to think
how often I, as a gay person,
engaged in Ketrman in a heterosexual
world and to enjoy the sense
of one-upmanship the player
has.

Beta. became hooked on his
anger. All the fury he felt be-
came his daily dose of venom.

Milosz describes him as a nihilist
offering "nothing" - because he
sees no hope, he accepts the
New Faith and became caught
up in its cadence of hatred.

Moving faster & faster he eventually
cannot move fast enough to escape
Milosz describes him as a rebel -
from his own disillusionment.
He says that he could see a new
& better order within his grasp.

Beta's anger, which drove him
to ruthlessness in his description
of life in the concentration camps,
drives him equally to ruthless-
ness with himself - and to
suicide. ~~But~~

hope that Welta is dedicated
to freedom, sober enough, &
wise enough to take advantage

Fahrenheit (451
4/15)

P. 812 "Liberty," after all, might mean
the right of the majority to override
every obstacle of its will. etc.
Rise of the West

P. 838 Double-mindedness
Rise of the West

Use to introduce characters.

P. 871 Softening of doctrine
Row.

P. 872 Introduce whole paper.
Row.

Gamma - as the arbiter of who would publish & who would not would use the need of men like Milosz to write and he would climb the bureaucratic ladder at their expense. ^{but he would always} Gamma is a hack in the service of the Revolution - but the Revolution is aging and eventually the nation will see through the subterfuge and will overturn it because it does not grow out of the people.

Quote from Jack Douglass.

Delta - bears out in reality the saying that "only the mad are truly free." Delta, of all the writers depicted, never was free, because of his need for a patron to support his alcoholism. And yet, with the state as Patron he is freer than ever.

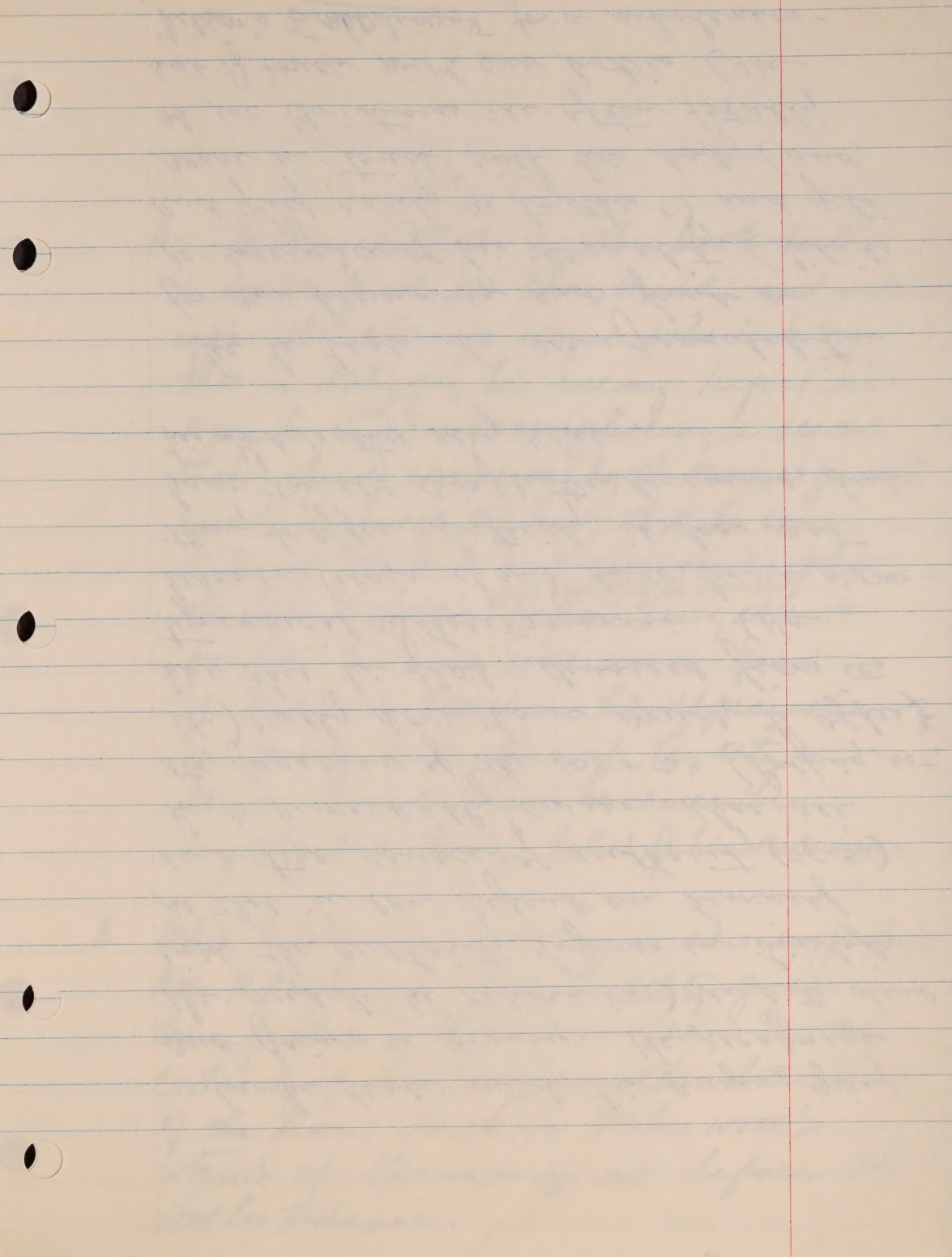
and because his style is
so mad, he probably can
get away with being closer
to his usual self than the
more serious writers, &
probably speak more truth.
Yet, he is in some ways more
dangerous - because he speaks
in symbols that can be
taken many ways + can
possibly be a more "apocalyptic"
writer [like John on Fatmas]
writing in a code which the
authorities may miss, but
which the people may not,
the potential for health to be
free is possible - maybe.
As Muloz leaves him, he
is about to be restored to
political correctness, for a time.
How much truth, how much
damage can he do if he is
so muddled. One can only

making discussion of this). My favorite quick quote from this chapter is

"You're nobody
till some body
loves you."

He also becomes aware of the need for the middle ground. The neurotic, he says, feels that there is no center, only extremes; omnipotence or impotence, pseudo-joy or theatrical despair, striving for impossible ideals and dismal failure to achieve satisfaction. The ideal, he says, is not to be burning up with passion all the time but to live with warmth, enjoyment and awareness. Passion clears the air but is not a comfortable place for true contentment. (81).

As he heals, he rediscovers play and his own playfulness. He also begins again to rediscover a world



As he deals with his anger, grief, and pain, he grows. He recognizes the need to be reborn (21) and to deal with the authority figures in his life so that he can depend on himself as a true source of authority (25-32). He is remarkably aware that all the panaceas of the 60's + 70's (Rolfing, est, etc.) really don't have much to offer ~~but~~ but that his faith, divorced from its tyrannical authoritarianism (He takes on Calvin, et al) does have something to offer. Certainly, it does not have the old simplistic answers, but his God is still very real.

As he heals, he sees possibilities for new beginnings and finds a re-emergence of his sexuality (libido and grief rarely go together!) and gets more in touch with his body (and, oh, we Christians are often totally out of touch with our bodies (see Nelson's Embodiment for a wholeness-

A. Milosz intends for the book to be a battle field for the mind, and indeed copies the enemy's way - who is to say that in destroying his enemy before our eyes, he is ^{NOT} also accomplishing a second task; that of convincing, by the same arguments used to disparage the West, that he can disparage the East and convince us that the Right is right in ^{their opinion of the West} ~~Without~~ ^{Without} being able to question him, we will never know if Milosz is honest in his appraisal, or merely feels that if he eats a man's bread that he owes him loyalty and thereby hatred of his enemies.

B. What Milosz does not say is also important. Does Witkiewicz's Insatiability give a true picture of Poland in 1932. It may, certainly if we compare other literature of the time, such as Isherwood's Stories of Germany at before the Hitler takeover.

A. Thibault enters for the first time
a battle field for the first time, and
again the enemy's way - who is to say
that in beating his enemy, he is not
also accomplishing a great
task; the of convincing, by the same argument
and to disprove the best, that is not
disprove the best and convince in that
the right is right in the end, and to
convince him, we will never know
if Thibault is found in his opinion.
we must feel that if he is not a
man, he is not a man, but he is a man
perhaps and truly, that is the answer.

B. What Thibault has not said is also important
has Thibault a responsibility over
the future of Poland in 1939. I say,
instead of the European Union
of the time, such as John's
think of Germany as before the
first war.

that they were totally out of touch with the realities of the political world and with the spiritual base which anchored the worker & the peasant. It is no wonder that the alienated intellectual (p. 8) longed to belong to the masses. Interestingly enough, now that he can indeed belong to the masses (i.e. in the political sense), the intellectual realizes what a trap he has fallen into and longs to escape from the Worker State. The intellectual and the worker/peasant are not now & never were brothers — yet the intellectual cannot & does not fit the bourgeois pattern — for he is either determinately downwardly or upwardly mobile depending upon his success and in the intellectual resides the cultural history of his nation, for it is patently obvious that what higher ^{classical} education does eventually is to continue to carry the common culture to succeeding generations. It is only natural that pride in one's nation's art, literature, indeed all cultural pursuits, must reside in the best educated of them.

B

cont.

Unfortunately most Americans have no idea of ~~the~~ ^{during} European cultural history ~~is like~~ of the period before WWII. We know how Americans in Europe thought through expatriates but ~~not~~ ^{little} of the European mind, so that the we know little, for example, of the mind set which allowed Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin et al to so completely take over. ~~was~~ Is Witkevicz's picture of Poland pre-Musi Breg an accurate representation of the Poland that was and if it is, then the Poles could indeed not go back to the old ruling intellectual class. But go where? Milosz states that religion was not a viable alternative for Poland - religion was practiced only by the peasants (and by religion, we assume that he meant Roman Catholicism) while the intellectual elite (interestingly enough, probably educated in Catholic universities) were ~~not~~ ^{breathing} such an ~~atmosphere~~ ^{intellectual} atmosphere of learning

outside himself; his political sense re-awakens and he becomes increasingly aware of himself as a member, not only of a dyad, a closed community, but also as part of the sworld community.

For anyone who has ever faced the crises of mid-life, and especially divorce or other relational ending, Sam Keen's book is a grand guidebook on a journey from despair to hope, from grief to healing, from despair to Shalom. So many of us as pastors are asked by parishioners to "teach me to feel again," after experiencing grief, and this is exactly what Sam Keen does in this book.

Majorie Lagone

- ① Oates, Wayne E. Pastoral Care + Counseling in Grief and Separation. Fortress Press, Phila., 1977.

30/10/20

Beginnings Without End

"Divorce is that form of grief for which there are no flowers sent, no church ceremonies offered to help persons come to grips with the reality & finality of the separation. The community tends to be brought together by death - scattered - by divorce. The dearth of community feeling and support, the deep and distressing feeling of stigma attached, and the element of deception present in the average divorce situation all conspire to strip away most ritual where the transition to the single state is concerned. Nevertheless, this transition, the separation and reuniting of people with the single population, has its subtle rituals. We must remember that a ritual is simply a certain way of doing things when one has to go through some thing in life. Divorce has its rituals. (Pastoral Care and Counseling in Grief and Separation, 76)

Sam Keen, in Beginnings Without End develops the rituals of his return to the

There is a form of grief for
which there are no flowers, yet, no clock
ceremonies offered to help persons come to
grips with the reality & finality of the
separation. The community tends to be
bracketed together by heart - scattered -
by divorce. The death of community
fading and support, the deep and
distressing feeling of stigma attached,
and the element of cheating present
in the average divorce situation all
conspire to strip away most virtues
when the transition to the single state
is concerned. Therefore too, this
transition, the separation and haunting
of people with the high probability,
has its own rituals. The most
remembered that a ritual is simply a
certain way of doing things and in our
has to go through some things in life.
Divorce has its rituals. (Counseling is going
and separation.)

There is a form of grief for
which there are no flowers, yet, no clock
ceremonies offered to help persons come to
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has to go through some things in life.
Divorce has its rituals. (Counseling is going
and separation.)

single population beginning with his "descent into darkness" and his working through his grief, depression, and anger until he came out, a very different person, into a summer of rest and repenting and learned that, in the Autumn of his life, that he was coming toward the "end of the endless way."

I do not feel that the book Keen has written is timeless, rather it is very much a book of the 70's, a time caught up in individual searches for autonomy, ^{personal} authenticity, and searches for individual fulfillment outside of traditional authoritarian modes. However, Sam Keen deals with a universal theme, loss and beginning again after a major loss in one's life. The tragedy of chasing for one's individual dream resulted in a total overturning of Sam Keen's life. The relationship for which he risked everything did not work out, and he,

highly popular, beginning with his
"Secret into darkness" and his searching
look at grief, depression, and anger
until he came out, a very different person,
into a summer of love and happiness
and looked that in the autumn of his
life, that he was coming toward the
"end of the rainbow way."

I do not find that the book has
any mission in this world, rather it is
very much a book of the 20's, a
book caught up in high school romance
for controversy, individuality, and
search for individual fulfillment
outside of traditional boundaries in
sex. However, for the last
with a romantic theme, has been
beginning again after a major loss
in his life. The tragedy of losing
for one's individual dream world in
a love relationship of his own life.
The author's failure to realize
anything but his own end and his

apparently could not or did not wish to go back to the status quo ante. (p. ix)
Out of his grief and need to mourn what had been, Keen began a journal of his "death, burial, & resurrection."

Because of his divorce (and his father's prior death) there was no family support. His mother moralizes - loves him but cannot reach beyond her training - and he, in turn, has difficulty forgiving her enough to embrace her ^(at that point) and end the separateness between them through physical contact. (As I read the passage, I so wished he had been able to get up and go to her. They both might have been saved from endless alienation from each other had he been able to do so.) (pp. 42-53).

Sam Keen writes of his estrangement, alienation, loneliness and anger, but even in the depths of his grief

he is Christian enough to be aware of hope. It may be Good Friday, but he knows Easter's coming. He learns that failure is not the end, but an opportunity to begin again.

There is enormous wisdom in the first section, where he begins by suggesting that one identify the emotions one is feeling (?) and learn to know those emotions deeply and well — they can be enriching. He is aware of the absolutely basal emotion of fear of abandonment and of having to come to grips with being alone after a relatively long marriage. Loneliness and the fear of loneliness must be dealt with. He also deals with the emergence of anger at the old order, the old religion, the old nationalism (as a matter of fact all the old "isms" — since none of them are able to comfort him in his grief.)

By the time I had gotten through the character portrayals and finished the book, I was still conflicted, still questioning of whether I was won over to Milosz's side or still wary of what "thought control" I was being subjected to - but willing to reread the book.

On second reading, Muriel-Bing made a much greater impact and I thought about Poles (and Hungarians) who had been raised to so fear ^{hate} Russia but who were also so disenchanted by the world of Eastern Europe prior to W.W.II + so incredibly destroyed by W.W.II that something, anything that replaced upheaval had to be better. Muriel-Bing, peace and acceptance, was at least better than attempting another war with absolutely no tools - particularly no tools to compare with

nuclear arms. As my grandfather said
of ^{the} Hungarian revolt, "It is impossible
to ~~throw~~^{drop} bombs from a farm wagon."
One then accepts the inevitable, as
one has accepted all previous inevit-
abilities. To have taken the Multi-
Bing cure is to become apathetic -
but Niles forgets the apathy is the
other side of the coin of rebellion. When
rebellion is not possible, one is apathetic.
Rebellion is only an option if it is possible,
if there is any hope for it happening,
but workers with bricks in their
hands are no match for Russian
soldiers in tanks, as the Hungarian
revolt proved, and as Hungary cried out
to the West "where were you?" so Poland
felt sold out because the West was
on the side of the Poland that had
failed.

There is more to say about the
capture mind - but that comes with
the second half of the book.

- I 2. Pharisees: in after life, angels & resurrection of the body.
The NT ^{that} They were against Jesus & Jesus polemicized against them in parables, sayings, etc. Jesus may have been Pharisee.
3. Sadducees - resurrection of body, angels or other such beliefs. Jesus polemicized against them also. Name came from Zadok.

Name

Marjorie T. Ragona

BT

I. Please identify each of the following in the space provided:

- 1) The Sanhedrin: *The high court of the Jews at the time of Jesus. It had legislative power but not capital punishment power. Tried Jesus prior to crucifixion.*
 - 2) Pharisees *One of the political forces around Jesus. The "liberals" of the day. Political descendants of Judah Maccabee. Believed in building a god around the Torah - also believed (and)*
 - 3) Sadducees *Political/religious force around Jesus. Mainly legalists who believed solely in the Torah (viz. the Pharisees who believed in T. + prophets). Did not believe in after life*
 - 4) Zealots *political power around Jesus. Nationalist "out" party. wanted to overthrow the Romans.*
 - 5) Scribes *copiers of scripture. Legalists around Jesus' time. Again, group Jesus polemicized against.*
 - 6) Samaritans *Descendants of people settled on land + Jews remaining at time of Assyrian dispersion + captivity. Hated by Jews. "Unclean" ritually.*
- II. Please name 4 messianic expectations:

- 1) ~~Prophet~~ Prophet
- 2) Priest
- 3) King
- 4) Warrior

III. Please explain what "Redaction Criticism" is.

Redactors are theological editors of Bible, drew work together + added commentary as much to link sayings etc. together in a theologically directed way.

(easy, wasn't it?)

Very poor

If you put it in a historical perspective + not
treat it as scripture.

Gnostics

Attempt to throw out part of Gospel.

Valentinians - wants to add. Nag Hammadi library.
Collection books found on Nile - Gnostic documents.
Became scripture for them. Taking part N.T. +
adding.

2 Views

"Church" has authority to set canon vs. Church recog.
books as having authority within them.

Tertullian - ~~1st AD.~~ Adopted Montanism.

Montanus - ^{156 A.D.} Convert. Sidetracked. Ecstasy, frenzied -
prophesying. "Disturber of people," "false prophet."
Used 2 women spiritists! (Phrygians).
"New prophetism".

Is scripture enough? Only authority?

Barnabas - allegory - Appeal to O.T.

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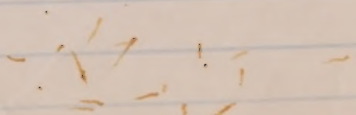
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THE TASK OF THEOLOGIZING

Paul Tillich was a well-known and very influential theologian. His thoughts and writings captured our times, and he was able to express in very theologically bound ways a sense of our human condition.¹ His ideas have provided a handle for others in their human struggle.² His theology, I believe, illustrates the breadth of the theological task. One does not theologize in a vacuum, but the process of theologizing is one of integrating the various parts of our faith and our life. One way of looking at these parts, which when combined make a whole, is as follows: scripture, tradition, experience, and reason.³ This is not an easy task, but it is not impossible.

Nelson in Chapter 4 provides us some illustration of this process. Borrowing from Tillich's views of sin, Nelson equates salvation with the process of healing. For some of us this is a novel idea, for we usually think of healing from a physical or psychological point of view. Yet, here we find the term being used to express a theological point, and this is very intentional. What Nelson presents for our consideration is a view which is very wholistic oriented--thus issues of our faith, our identity, our intellect, our emotions, our spirituality, and our physical being are all interrelated. Sin, as alienation, can effect us in many diverse ways; so too, can the act of healing.

I would like to suggest for your reflection that what I have been describing above is the act of theologizing. I would like to further suggest that this method could provide us with a model. A model which we could use for our theologizing.

I would suggest that we might begin this process by looking at our own lives. In what ways have we experienced, have we thought, have we questioned, have we learned. In these experiences, thoughts, questions, and learning, is it possible that perhaps, just perhaps, we have been involved in the task of theologizing. Can we not take our own life story and discover much about our theology. For example:

1. Have you ever felt alienated? In what ways might you consider that sin?
2. Do you agree or disagree with Nelson that salvation can be understood as healing? If so, have you ever experienced such an event in your life? If you do not agree with Nelson's view of salvation, what do you believe salvation is and how have you experienced it or wish to hope to experience it?
3. How do you KNOW God and how do you EXPERIENCE God?

These are questions which I suspect in some shape or form all of us have asked or struggled with at some point in our life. In some cases the questions have probably surfaced more than once. There are also many other questions which could be asked by you. These kinds of questions focus on the center of our very existence, and point out to the necessity of the integrating process between our faith and our living. This indeed is the task of theologizing--a task we are all called to participate in.

Endnotes

1. An interesting, yet not too long, presentation of Tillich's theological insight can be found in his The Courage To Be (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1952. Tillich's grasp of the times we live in is well expressed.
2. Two interesting attempts at integrating Tillich's theology with the field of human behavior are The Mental Health Ministry of the Local Church by Howard J. Clinebell, Jr. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972) and The Structures of Awareness by Thomas C. Oden (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969).
3. A more detailed explanation of this perspective is found in "Our Theological Task" of The Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church 1980 (Nashville: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1980), pp. 71-85.

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Aquinas, Summa c. Gentiles
Dillenberger, M. Luther
--Frankena, Ethics
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Bowen, Return to Laughter
Geertz, Interp. of Cultures
Islam Observed
Harris, Cows, Pigs, Wars+Witches
note:Sidney, Leach+Malinowski are OP
TS855 see next page. . . .
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Stacey, And Jill Came Tumbling After
note: Why Not Best is OP

- ☐ TY702*Fraser+Jernigan
Duska+Whalen, Moral Developmt.
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Miller, Toward New Psy. Women

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Clinebell, Basic types Past. Couns.
Growth Couns.
Contemp. Growth Therapies

Kennedy, On Becoming A Couns.
Lee, Clergy and Clients
Pruyser, Minister as Diagnostician.

TY803 and TY826..next page

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To: Class - TE 730: Education for Justice + Liberation
From: Nancy

Re: Enclosed material

First, my apologies for hand-written material. By doing it this way, I am able to use time between (and, I must confess, during) meetings to get it together - to make it available for Thursday. I hope you can read it without too much difficulty.

Second, a suggestion: in addition to looking at this material, it might be helpful for you to re-read your responses to the Reflection Question prepared for session III as you think about the small groups. I hope this is helpful.

Questions Relating to Multiplicity of Dimensions, including class - Are there solutions?

1. Definitions of Terms
2. Oppressor / Oppressed - Same people? Both suffer oppression?
3. How who we are affects what we teach + learn
4. Issues in education

Tasks: Formulation of Questions / Group + Individual Answers

Teaching / Learning / Reflection Group for
individual Projects

Questions relating to change skills and avoiding burnout - Where is hope?

<u>SESSION</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Content Focus</u>
<u>V</u>	2/17	Education for Critical Consciousness Pedagogy of the Oppressed
<u>VI</u>	2/24	Pedagogy of the Oppressed
<u>VII</u>	3/3	Reports from Groups re: Questions / Answers
<u>VIII</u>	3/17	^{Three On} Integrative session on questions from groups / short papers due
<u>IX</u>	3/24	The Liberation of Theology
<u>X</u>	3/31	Christian Religious Education
<u>XI</u>	4/7	Christian Religious Education
<u>XII</u>	4/14	Christian Religious Education
<u>XIII</u>	4/21	Evaluation / Reports from groups on teaching / learning / reflection process

MAY 5, 1982 - Projects Due

"Central Problems" Identified by Class

<u>Problem</u>	<u>Identified by</u>	<u>Included in Group #</u>
1. How oppressor & oppressed both suffer from oppression - cultural variety needs to be respected	Phillip	2, 3
2. Interest in definitions - what are some key terms? What are our assumptions e.g., are oppressors liberated?	Alfredo	1, 2
3. How do those who are 1st world, white work for liberation without being hypocritical	Bonnie	3
4. How are our life styles actually oppressive	Jill	3
5. How do we oppress ourselves?	Jill	3
6. Who are we? Are we oppressed or the oppressor? Or both?	June	2
7. How do we get people to go beyond the sugar-coated answers? - including making assumptions about who goes to church?	Linda	3
8. The problem of education as a whole --How free can it be? --Agendas of educators & learners	Ernie	4, 3
9. Understanding dynamics of how oppressors and oppressed are oppressed by the same system - how to deal with that	Derf	2
10. Need to look at multiplicity of the problem	Marge	over-arching
11. What are we teaching while we're teaching?	Marge	4
12. My problem is with reality - Definition of oppression/liberation -- needing real skills for change and community -- Where is hope?	Beth	1 over-arching over-arching
13. Problems of being both oppressor & oppressed	Kevin	2
14. Injustice of class structure --definitions: justice, liberation, biblical support of definitions	Terri	over-arching 1
15. Trying to find more exact terms for justice and liberation. Why am I oppressed? How can Christianity be spread through justice and liberation?	David	1
16. How can people who are oppressed by worked with so that they acknowledge their oppression and want to change?	Amy	3

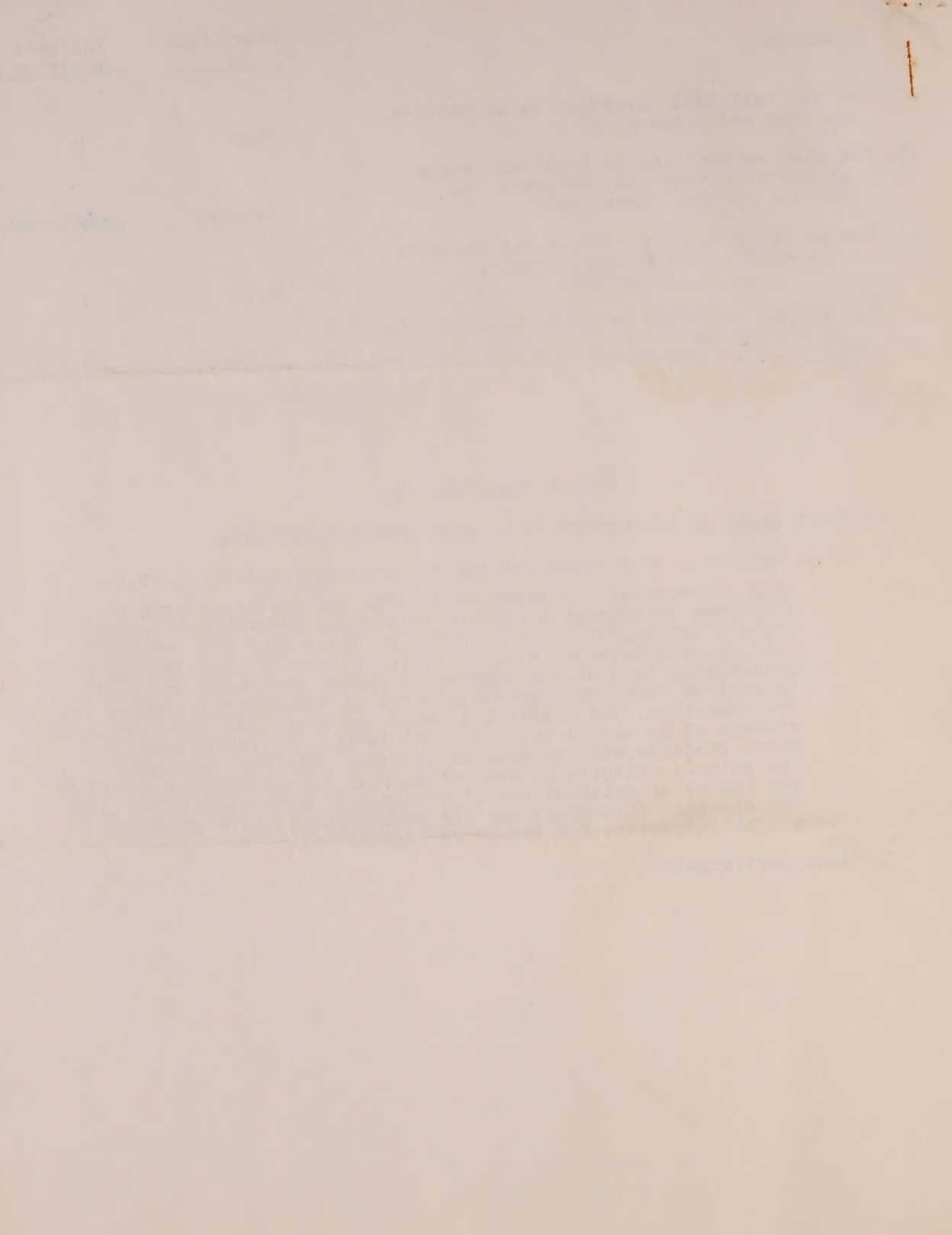
<u>Problem</u>	<u>Identified by</u>	<u>Included in Group #</u>
17. How can Religious Education be attractive, enabling and empowering?	Thom	4
18. How does someone who is involved keep a perspective that can encourage you without getting burned out?	Charles	over-arching
19. How do we critically analyze big concepts --pedagogy, methodology, praxis, justice, liberation	Eric	1
20. How do the variables we bring intervene in the discussion?	Eric	3

Course Requirements

1. Short paper on your response to your group's questions
2. Final Project - on a theme related to your group's issue/problem

Each student will be expected to plan and develop a program or other way to address a concern related to addressing his/her group's issue/problem in a church or other ministry setting. Careful consideration will be given to both the theological and pedagogical base of the program to insure that maximum benefit is derived from the theoretical work of the semester, while at the same time, the theoretical work is tested and modified in the context of an actual setting in ministry. It is assumed that these projects will be related to actual ministry settings. The primary criteria of evaluation will be the success to which the issues of critical consciousness have been identified in the specific situations and the effectiveness with which the project addresses the issues so identified.

3. Class participation



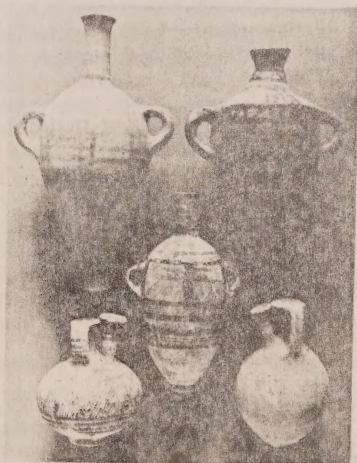
The Philistines were later politically organized in a confederation of five city-states (Ashdod, Askelon, Gaza, Gath, and Ekron) under the control of military rulers backed by well-armed troops and charioteers. Sometime about the middle of the eleventh century, the Philistines undertook a large-scale movement to take over all of Palestine, perhaps beginning their advance by dominating the trade routes along the coast and in the Jezreel and Jordan valleys.² The pressure of the Philistines had already been felt by the southern tribes. In the Samson legends, the hero is warned by the men of Judah about causing trouble, since "the Philistines are rulers over us" (Judg. 15:11).

United action by the Israelite tribes was no match for the well-armed Philistine soldiers who routed the poorly armed Israelite militia in battle between Aphek and Ebenezer (I Sam., ch. 4). During the clash, the Israelite Ark was taken captive and several members of the priesthood at Shiloh were slain. The Israelites may have earlier been forced to move the center of their tribal league from Shechem to Shiloh because of the vulnerability of the former.

The Biblical traditions and archaeological evidence suggest that the Philistine domination eventually included practically all the land west of the Jordan and possibly the Transjordanian trade routes. The Philistines stationed garrisons in

Characteristic Philistine pottery from the early Iron Age has been found at many Palestinian sites, which suggests a widespread control of the area by the Philistines. Shown here are typical amphorae and stirrup-jars.

ISRAEL DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES
AND MUSEUMS



various strategic places in the land (I Sam. 10:5; II Sam. 23:14), carried out punitive raids perhaps for the collection of tribute (I Sam. 13:16-18; 23:1-5),

²On the expansion of the Philistines, see G. Ernest Wright, "Philistine Coffins and Mercenaries," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXII (1959), pp. 53-66, reprinted in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, II, pp. 59-68, and his "Fresh Evidence for the Philistine Story," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXIX (1966), pp. 70-85.

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6 | SAUL AND DAVID

In the middle of the eleventh century (ca. 1050 B.C.), an external threat confronted the Israelite and Judean tribes with the possibility of a complete loss of freedom. The threat was posed by the expansion policy of the Philistines, who moved to take over control of the entire land of Palestine. In their reaction to this major threat, the tribes were welded together in common action, advanced from tribalism to statehood, adopted a monarchical form of government, and entered their greatest hour of glory. These changes brought about radical transformations in the entire political, cultural, and theological fabric of their society.

THE PHILISTINE MENACE

The Philistines had settled in Canaan early in the twelfth century B.C.¹ In origin, they were one element in the massive migration of "Sea Peoples" from the islands and coastlands of the northern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (1500–1200 B.C.), a migration possibly triggered by the Dorian invasion of the Greek mainland. The first appearance of the Sea Peoples in Egypt and Palestine was in conjunction with their service as mercenaries. But by 1200 B.C., they had launched a momentous movement of conquest which threatened many major Middle Eastern powers and threw western Asia into a state of political chaos.

The Philistines were first mentioned by name as part of an invasion force that attacked Egypt in the eighth year of Ramesses III (ca. 1198–1166 B.C.). This invasion was repulsed by the Egyptians, at the price of military exhaustion, and part of the defeated force conquered and settled southwest Palestine, perhaps at the beginning as garrison troops with the consent and nominal control of Egypt.

Biblical readings: The basic Biblical materials discussed in this chapter are I Sam., ch. 4 (the Philistine menace), I Sam., chs. 9 to 15; 28; 31 (the Saul narratives), and I Sam., chs. 16 to 18; 25; II Sam., chs. 1 to 8 (portions of the narratives about David). See map V.

¹ See the summary of available Near Eastern material related to the Philistines in Albright, "Syria, the Philistines, and Phoenicia," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II, 2d ed., Ch. XXXIII, Sec. i.

John Hays

and curtailed weapon production and increased their industrial profits through their monopoly on the iron industry (I Sam. 13:19-22). The process of smelting iron was developed by the Hittites in Asia Minor about the fourteenth century B.C., and it was from them that the Sea Peoples apparently learned the art.

The Biblical traditions suggest that the Israelites were on occasion able to mount offensive action against the Philistines. I Samuel 7:14 points out that under the leadership of Samuel,³ cities taken away from Israel were recaptured from Ekron and Gath, but this probably is merely a reflection of the ongoing warfare between the two which lasted for several years. This verse, however, does point to a fact that should not be overlooked when it states that "there was peace between Israel and the Amorites." (In addition to the term Canaanites, Amorites is used in the Bible to refer to the indigenous non-Israelite population of Canaan.) This passage shows the cooperation which existed between Israel and the Amorites in their opposition to a common enemy, a factor that no doubt furthered the amalgamation of the two groups and cultures.

THE BEGINNING OF THE MONARCHY

The Philistine threat paved the way for a new chapter in Israelite history. Out of this challenge to their independence, the tribes responded by adopting, for them, a new form of political structure, the monarchy. The decentralized and charismatic structures had proved incapable of meeting the needs of an hour of real crisis.

Saul's Rise to Kingship. The present edited form of the Biblical traditions does not present a unified narrative of the way in which Saul came to be the first king of the nation Israel. Scholars point out the apparent existence of three different accounts of the beginning of the monarchy.

In one account (I Sam. 9:1 to 10:16), Saul is pictured as a young, tall, and handsome lad in search of his wealthy father's lost asses. In his pursuit, Saul came to "the land of Zuph," where he met the seer Samuel, who presided over the sacrificial meal at a local sanctuary. The visit of Saul had been revealed to Samuel by Yahweh on the previous day and Samuel had been told to anoint the youth as prince⁴ over Israel. So at the instigation of Yahweh, Samuel secretly took a vial of oil and poured it on Saul's head and designated him to save Israel from the hand of the Philistines. This narrative emphasizes the participation of Yahweh and Samuel in the choice of Saul and the latter's designation as a young lad.

Another account (I Sam. 10:17-27) attributes the impetus for the selection of a king to the people of Israel (see I Sam., ch. 8) against the wishes of Samuel

³ The historical figure of Samuel is difficult to discover, since four offices (priest, prophet, seer, and judge) were ascribed to him in popular tradition. See McKenzie, *The World of the Judges*, pp. 169-175, and his "The Four Samuels," *Biblical Research*, VII (1962), pp. 1-16.

⁴ The Hebrew word translated "prince" is *nagid*, which should be rendered "military commander."

CHART 3: THE IRON AGE TO THE DEATH OF SOLOMON (1200-922 B.C.)

B.C.	EGYPT	PALESTINE	SYRIA-MESOPOTAMIA
1200	Twentieth Dynasty (1200-1085) Egypt generally quite weak after massive invasion by "Sea Peoples"	Period of the Judges (1200-1020) Consolidation of tribal holdings Final settlement of Philistines Establishment of Israel and Judah as united tribal leagues Major battles between Canaanites and Hebrews Deborah, ca. 1125 Battles against Moabites, Midianites, and others before and after Deborah	No major power Brief revival of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser I
1100	Twenty-first Dynasty (1084-935) Continued Egyptian weakness	Philistine control over Judah Major Philistine invasion of Israelite territory Samuel Battle of Aphek Philistine domination Saul anointed as ruler (ca. 1020) * Union of Israel, Judah, and Transjordanian tribes Saul wars with Philistines Saul dies in battle (ca. 1000) David king over Judah Ishbaal king over Israel David king over Israel and Judah Capture of Jerusalem Israelite domination over all of Canaan Expansion of Davidic empire Revolt of Absalom Revolt of Adonijah Death of David (ca. 961) Reign of Solomon (ca. 961-922)	Phoenician development of sea trade Recovery of Assyrian power begins
1000	Twenty-second Dynasty (935-725) Revival of Egyptian power	Division of United Kingdom	Aramean independence

* Dates for Israelite and Judean kings are based on the chronology of W. F. Albright.

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and Yahweh. In this narrative, Saul was chosen as king by lot at the sanctuary of Mizpah in a ceremony presided over by Samuel. Saul is shown in this account as a shy, unassuming person discovered hiding among the baggage at the time of his selection.

A further representation of Saul's rise to kingship is found in I Sam., ch. 11. Here Saul is pictured as an adult farmer working his land at Gibeah when the Transjordanian town of Jabesh-gilead was threatened by the Ammonites. Saul responded to the call for assistance, rallied Israelite and Judean support, won a victory over the Ammonites, and was crowned king at the sanctuary in Gilgal. This narrative portrays Saul as a charismatic leader, similar to the earlier judges, but one who was designated by the people as king.

How can one explain the existence of these diverse perspectives on the origin of kingship in ancient Israel? Several things should be noted about these narratives. In the first place, they are frequently infused with material of a legendary nature reflecting the art of the storyteller. (This is especially the case with I Sam. 9:1 to 10:16.) Secondly, much of the material incorporates an anti-monarchic and anti-Saul sentiment. There were no doubt in early Israel many who opposed the institution of kingship, and in later history Saul was seldom looked upon in a favorable light. Thirdly, the stories are associated with two main sanctuaries, Mizpah and Gilgal, which would suggest that early forms of these stories were told at these centers.

In spite of the fact that these stories have been told and edited to reflect a bias in favor of or against the monarchy in general and Saul in particular, it is possible to construct a hypothesis that would explain their existence.⁵ Saul was probably first of all designated as a leader in Israel's struggles by Samuel and his prophetic circle⁶ in a fashion similar to the designation of Barak by the prophetess Deborah (Judg. 4:6) and the later designation of Jehu by Elisha and "the sons of the prophets" (II Kings 9:1-10). The Mizpah narrative may reflect the recognition of Saul as king over the combined leagues of Israel and Judah. It was probably only during the Philistine crisis that Israel and Judah united in a common bond. The Gilgal narrative and the story of the triumph over the Ammonites reflect a major victory won by Saul and his Israelite and Judean followers in Transjordan. It was probably as a result of this victory that the Transjordanian tribes were incorporated into the broadened Israelite state. The ceremony at Gilgal with its acclamation of Saul as king could have been the occasion for this union.

The Reign of Saul. The course of events in the reign of Saul and the nature of his rule are difficult to determine, since the traditions have been collected and edited with a bias in favor of Saul's successor, David. The collectors of Israelite

⁵ For some suggestions in this direction, see C. E. Hauer, Jr., "Does I Samuel 9:1-11:15 Reflect the Extension of Saul's Dominions?" *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXXXVI (1967), pp. 306-310.

⁶ On the prophetic circle associated with Samuel, see the works by McKenzie cited in footnote 3 of this chapter and W. F. Albright, *Samuel and the Beginnings of the Prophetic Movement* (Hebrew Union College Press, 1961), reprinted in Harry M. Orlinsky, ed., *Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition* (KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1968).

traditions chose to picture Saul as the man forsaken by Yahweh, the antitype of David the man after God's heart, and his reign as a political interlude before the coming of the true kingdom of David. In Israel's later "roll call" of its heroes, Saul does not appear (see *Ecclus.*, chs. 44 to 50; *Heb.*, ch. 11). Even the length of Saul's reign cannot be determined, since the only chronological reference states that "Saul was a year old when he began to reign and he reigned two years over Israel" (I Sam. 13:1), which is absurd. Later Jewish tradition and modern scholars assume that his reign was much longer than two years (Acts 13:21 assigns forty years to Saul).

Saul was from a landowning family whose hometown was Gibeah, a place located on the highroad joining Judah and Israel and thus centrally located between the two tribal leagues. The site seems to have been unoccupied prior to the Israelite settlement, and excavations there have exposed part of a small but well-fortified citadel which probably served as Saul's "palace."⁷

What prerogatives were granted Saul as king are not stated, though reference is made to "the rights and duties of the kingship" (I Sam. 10:25) agreed to by the people and Saul and laid before Yahweh. He was certainly granted the right to function as military commander-in-chief and to call out the militia, i.e., the men of military age, and it was this which was the source of his power and authority. The major associate of Saul was his cousin Abner, who functioned as commander of the militia. The use of professional soldiers and mercenaries was begun by him, and this too must have been a privilege granted him by the tribes as well as the right to raise the finances to support them probably through feudal-type land grants as well as taxation.⁸ This first Israelite draft into a standing army is referred to in the fact that "when Saul saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he attached him to himself" (I Sam. 14:52).

In a number of points, the Biblical materials suggest that Saul's reign was surprisingly successful. I Samuel 14:47-48 gives a summary of his military exploits. In his struggle against the Philistines, he was at least partially successful (I Sam., ch. 14) perhaps breaking their control over the central highlands. Also, he is said to have fought against enemies to the south, east, and north of Canaan. In addition, Saul was able to incorporate into his state some of the non-Israelite elements living in Canaan. I Samuel 14:21 notes that the still existent non-Israelite Hebrews joined Saul and his forces after a victory over the Philistines. The autonomy of some of the Canaanite city-states was apparently taken away by Saul. This is especially noted in the case of Gibeon (II Sam. 21:1-3), with whom the earlier Israelites had entered into an alliance. In matters of religion, Saul suppressed the practices of "the mediums and the wizards" (I Sam. 28:3) associated with the veneration and consultation of the dead.

All of this suggests that Saul was the major unsung hero of Israelite history.

⁷ See L. A. Sinclair, "An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Ful)," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research for 1954-56* (American Schools of Oriental Research, 1960), pp. 5-52; summarized in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXVII (1964), pp. 52-64.

⁸ See I Sam. 22:6-8; and John Gray, "Feudalism in Ugarit and Early Israel," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, LXIV (1952), pp. 49-55.

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The union and cooperation of the several tribes, the establishment of central political structures, the defense of Israelite freedom, and the welding together of the diverse groups and cultures in Canaan reached a new phase during the time of Saul, although it was David who really reaped the benefits and praise.

In spite of the many benefits to his people which can be attributed to Saul, his career was clouded by tragedy and disaster. This was partially due, on the one hand, to his split with the ambitious David, the rising star of Judah, and, on the other hand, to his conflicts with Samuel, who sought to regulate and condemn the activity of the king in terms of the older tribal customs and perhaps in line with the thought and actions of Samuel's prophetic circle. But, undoubtedly, some lamentable change came over Saul himself and made him subject to fits of suspicion and depression and to irrational acts of violence.

Saul and three of his sons died on the battlefield fighting the Philistines (I Sam., ch. 31), struggling to protect the freedom and territory of his people. The scene of the battle, the Valley of Jezreel and Mt. Gilboa, suggests that Saul had begun to break the Philistine control over the Palestinian trade routes. Saul was buried in Jabesh-gilead after some of its citizens had snatched away his body from the wall of a Beth-shan temple where it had been exposed by the Philistines.⁹ This act reflected the honor in which these Transjordanians held Saul, who had earlier been their savior.

THE CAREER OF DAVID

The years of David's rule over Israel were the days of the nation's greatest success and glory. So outstanding was David as a warrior, political administrator, and ruler that his name was recalled in Israelite faith and history "like the name of the great ones of the earth" (II Sam. 7:9). But behind David and his glory, the nation's theologians saw the hand and will of Yahweh.

He [Yahweh] chose David his servant,
and took him from the sheepfolds;
from tending the ewes that had young he brought him
to be the shepherd of Jacob his people,
of Israel his inheritance.
With upright heart he tended them,
and guided them with skilful hand.

(Ps. 78:70-72.)

David's Rise to Prominence. The Biblical traditions contain three independent narrative accounts of David's rise to prominence. Each of these glorifies David and emphasizes the theological and legendary characteristics ascribed to him in the Jerusalemite royal ideology.

I Samuel 16:1-13 tells of David's anointment by the prophet Samuel as the replacement for Saul while the latter was still alive and reigning. In the story,

⁹David had the bones of Saul and Jonathan reinterred in Saul's homeland of Benjamin (II Sam. 21:11-14).

David is pictured as the eighth and youngest son of Jesse of Bethlehem. The older sons were bypassed by Yahweh and his choice fell on the shepherd lad who "was ruddy, and had beautiful eyes, and was handsome" (I Sam. 16:12; compare with v. 7). The emphasis of this story falls on David as the chosen of Yahweh, selected and designated at a young and innocent age, untarnished by political ambition.

In another account (I Sam. 16:14-23), David was said to have been brought to the court of Saul because he was "skilful in playing the lyre" in the hopes of soothing the king "whenever the evil spirit from God was upon Saul." The theme of David as the great musician and the founder of Israelite music played a prominent role in later Israelite tradition, and it is this theme which dominates this narrative.

The story of David's slaying of Goliath (I Sam., ch. 17) presupposes that David and Saul are unknown to each other (note vs. 38, 55-58) and have their first encounter on the field of battle. This well-known story portrays David as the courageous and ideal man of faith who fights his battles and wins his victories through the power of Yahweh. II Samuel 21:19, which ascribes the killing of Goliath to a certain Elhanan from Bethlehem, suggests that this story of David "the giant killer" has been secondarily applied to David and is therefore unhistorical.

Incidental references within the Biblical traditions suggest that David originally came to the court of Saul as an experienced and professional soldier. I Samuel 16:18 describes David as a "man of war" who entered Saul's service and became his armor-bearer, thus becoming a personal attendant to the king perhaps in both a military and an advisory capacity. Other texts (I Sam. 22:14; 18:5) refer to the fact that David became captain over the king's bodyguard. This group was no doubt the mercenary troops, a military element and royal police guard independent of the national militia. As the head of this fighting unit, David distinguished himself in battles with the Philistines and was held in high esteem by the common populace who sang its praises of his military exploits (I Sam. 18:5-9, 30).

Saul has slain his thousands,
and David his ten thousands.
(I Sam. 18:7.)

David was a favorite at the royal court and enjoyed the close friendship and personal devotion of Saul's son Jonathan, who "loved him as his own soul." Eventually, David married Saul's daughter Michal (I Sam. 18:20-27), thus acquiring further status at the royal court as the king's son-in-law.

David as a Refugee. Saul's personal jealousy of his younger and more popular officer, together perhaps with David's ambitions, led to a deterioration in the two men's relationship. David was eventually forced to flee from the court after attempts were made on his life. He first sought shelter with Samuel and his prophetic circle (I Sam. 19:18-24) and afterward left his parents for safety's sake in the care of the king of the Moabites, a people with whom David had blood relation through his grandmother Ruth (see Ruth 4:18-22).

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As a fugitive from the court, David spent some time in the eastern Judean Desert, where he gathered around himself a personal army of four hundred men composed of "every one who was in distress [i.e., criminals], and every one who was in debt, and every one who was discontented" (I Sam. 22:2). David and his band of outlaws partially supported themselves through the operation of a "protection racket" which is admirably illustrated in I Sam., ch. 25. In this story, David wished to collect from a wealthy sheep and goat breeder for protection he and his gang had offered ostensibly without the need or knowledge of the owner. The demands and threats of David led to the heart-attack death of the herds' owner who left behind a beautiful widow and three thousand sheep and one thousand goats. In order to alleviate this dire situation, David "agreed" to marry the widow and assume responsibility for the management of the departed's estate.

Saul continued his pursuit of David, which may have contributed to the weakening of the Israelite defense against the Philistines, although nothing like a civil war between David and Saul developed since the latter seems to have held the support of the majority of the Judeans. David finally sought security by becoming a mercenary-vassal to Achish, the Philistine king of Gath. For this service, David and his army, now numbering six hundred men, were granted as a fief the city of Ziklag in the Judean Shephelah (I Sam. 27:1-7). From this base, David carried out raids against the nomadic and caravan groups in the southern Negeb, being careful to annihilate all the living so that the Philistines would not discover that he wasn't raiding Judean towns (I Sam. 27:8-12) with whose elders he actually shared his booty in order to win Judean support (I Sam. 30:26-31). David did not participate in the major Philistine attack on Israel which resulted in the death of Saul. He was spared this fate, not because of his own scruples, but because of the mistrust of some of the Philistine leaders.

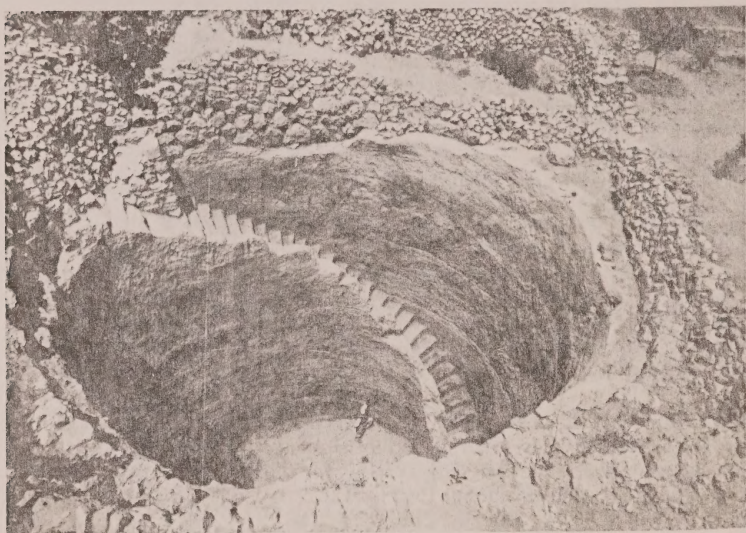
David Becomes King. With the death of Saul, David immediately took action which revived the ancient tribal animosity and led to the division of the Israelite kingdom into the two states of Israel and Judah. In agreement with the Philistines, or at least with their permission, he transferred his residence to the Judean center of Hebron and had himself anointed as king over the house of Judah (II Sam. 2:1-4).

In the north, Abner placed Ish-baal,¹⁰ the son of Saul, on the throne, moving the capital to the safer Transjordanian town of Mahanaim. Here he ruled "over Gilead and the Asherites [correcting the Hebrew term Ashurites, i.e., Assyrians] and Jezreel and Ephraim and Benjamin" (II Sam. 2:8-11). These five areas no doubt reflect the administrative districts of Saul's kingdom minus Judah.

Warfare between Israel and Judah prevailed for some time during which "David grew stronger and stronger, while the house of Saul became weaker and weaker" (II Sam. 3:1). Abner, reading the signs of the time and because of a personal grievance with Ish-baal, chose to throw in his lot with David and went

¹⁰ The editors of the Hebrew text of Samuel altered Ish-baal's name, which means "man of Baal," to Ish-bosheth ("man of shame") because of the former name's reference to the Canaanite god. The correct form appears in I Chron. 8:33; 9:39.

to Hebron to work out the final negotiations but was murdered by Joab, David's chief commander (II Sam. 3:26-27). Finally, with the murder of Ish-baal after a two-year reign (II Sam. 4:5-12), the way for David to rule over "all Israel" was completely clear. The northern tribes offered the throne to David



The pool at Gibeon was apparently the scene of a battle between the forces of David and those of Ish-baal (see II Sam. 2:12-17). This pool, which required the removal of almost 3,000 tons of limestone for its construction, was part of the water supply system at Gibeon. Thirty-seven feet in diameter and thirty-five feet deep, the pool is extended downward by another forty-five feet to the water level by a tunnel.

J. B. PRITCHARD AND THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

and after the conclusion of a covenant and anointment, David became ruler over the reunited kingdom of Israel and Judah.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EMPIRE

Internal Developments. David ruled in Hebron for seven and a half years (II Sam. 5:5). He was able to solidify his rule over Israel and Judah and to centralize his government over the tribes after his capture of the independent city-

state of Jerusalem. The town's access to the interior by reference is made of its population of the tribes but just as was done in this fact which (II Sam. 5:9).

The Philistines had established a stronghold which he had given to them. He made two attempts in decisive victory over the Philistines were.

The central theme of the story made it the religious history of bringing the religious object of presence at a place of Yahweh and the Philistines, who were territory after the story of David's vision with its and David's. With the Ark associated with religious pilgrimage to the Ark, although by his son who built an altar to Yahweh.

In order to establish the monarchy, Saul's sons and a drought (II Sam. 21) immediate family.

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state of Jerusalem.¹¹ Prior to its capture, the city had been a Jebusite stronghold. The town was taken by David's personal army which apparently gained access to the town through its subterranean water channel (II Sam. 5:6-8). No reference is made in the texts to the city's destruction nor to the annihilation of its population. The town was not incorporated into the territorial holdings of the tribes but was retained as a private possession of David and his successors just as was done with David's old Philistine fief of Ziklag (I Sam. 27:6). It was this fact which is reflected in the description of Jerusalem as "the city of David" (II Sam. 5:9).

The Philistines didn't take action against their former vassal until David had established himself in Jerusalem (II Sam. 5:17). Perhaps prior to this time he had given them no cause to doubt his old allegiance. David's former masters made two attempts to bring him back under control, but both attacks ended in decisive victories for the Israelites (II Sam. 5:18-25), after which the Philistines were no longer a major threat.

The central location of Jerusalem and its lack of connection with tribal history made it an excellent neutral capital. David sought to turn Jerusalem into the religious center as well as the political capital of the state. He did this by bringing the Ark of Yahweh to Jerusalem (II Sam., ch. 6). This sacred religious object had played a significant role in Israelite religion and history. Its presence at a sanctuary or in the midst of warfare represented the presence of Yahweh among his followers. The Ark had been earlier captured by the Philistines, who, according to I Sam., chs. 5 and 6, had returned it to Israelite territory after suffering from a plague which they associated with the Ark. The story of David's transference of the Ark illustrates the sacredness of the occasion with its references to sacrifices, shouting, blowing of the horn, the blessings, and David's performance of a ritual dance as well as his distribution of food. With the Ark in Jerusalem, the Israelite traditions, priesthood, and beliefs associated with it were transferred to a new setting which became the object of religious pilgrimage. David did not construct any elaborate temple to house the Ark, although he did secure the land on which a temple was subsequently built by his son when he purchased the threshing floor of Araunah in order to build an altar to Yahweh (II Sam. 24:15-25).

In order to stifle any possibility that the house of Saul might seek to retake the monarchy, David participated in and encouraged the killing of two of Saul's sons and five of his grandsons in a fertility ritual performed to alleviate a drought (II Sam. 21:1-9). This left alive only one male member of Saul's immediate family, a crippled son of Jonathan.

All the independent Canaanite enclaves were annexed by David and incorporated into the Israelite state. The native population of these city-states was not destroyed but merely absorbed. This brought into Israelite society another infusion of culture and customs as well as a higher material civilization and industrial development.

The first census taken in Israel was carried out by David. The description of

¹¹ On the excavations in Jerusalem, see Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1967).

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The Davidic city of Jerusalem lay outside the walls of what is now called the Old City of Jerusalem. The walls of the Old City were completed by Suleiman the Magnificent in A.D. 1535. Jerusalem in the time of David was located on what is today called Ophel, shown in the center and dotted with modern houses. The Old City and the Temple area are to the upper left, and the Brook Kidron, Gethsemane, and the Mount of Olives are at the upper right.

ROBERT B. WRIGHT

the boundaries covered (II Sam. 24:1-9) shows that Israel, Judah, Transjordan, and the Canaanite cities were now integral parts of the United Kingdom. The purpose of this census was undoubtedly related to the military draft and taxation. This census-taking provoked opposition among the people, reflecting the ancient taboo against "counting heads."

International Developments. The status of international politics was extremely favorable to David's development of a major empire. Egypt to the south and Assyria to the north were both in a state of political weakness and much of the Near East was still recovering from the effects of the invasion of the Sea Peoples. The major record we possess of David's foreign campaigns is found in II Sam., ch. 8. In extending his rule, David subdued Philistia and conquered the Transjordanian states of Moab, Ammon, and Edom. His most formidable foes were the several Aramean (Syrian) states to the north, but these were defeated

and Israelite forces such as Hama along the northern coast, restricted the lucrative sea trade.

These territorial gains created a network of international trade and land commerce with the kings of the surrounding states.

The states of the region were reduced to a tributary status, producing a rapid accumulation of wealth for the king and his benefactors from the tribute.

The Administration. The large and complex empire required a large and capable administrative system. David developed a system of ministers of state, including a chief minister, more than thirty military leaders, and a militia; David's son Jonathan, the chief minister. The lists of ministers passing political and military affairs to regular Israeli officials such as the king of state, herald, son in charge of royal priest and there were no other officials.

The art of administration was a far-flung empire. The king's officials, the king's officials, this administrative system upon which the king's power rested. One obvious feature of the city-states. The king and diplomatic relations. Another source of information is the king's system of taxation. Many of the king's representatives at the king's court, the lower echelons of the king's administration under David's rule.

¹³ Adoram, Abda

and Israelite troops were even stationed in Damascus. States farther to the north, such as Hamath, chose to establish good relations with David. The Phoenicians along the northern coast entered into a treaty relationship with Israel which restricted the former's territory but encouraged their further involvement in the lucrative sea trade in the Mediterranean.

These territorial conquests under David gave Israel control over a major network of international trade routes. Thus Israel was able to dominate the land commerce between Egypt and Mesopotamia as well as the overland trade with the kingdoms of South Arabia.

The states conquered by David were forced to pay tribute into the Israelite treasury. This, coupled with the control of the international trade routes, produced a rapid increase in Israel's prosperity especially among the social class involved in military leadership, commerce, and administration. The greatest benefactors from this prosperity were of course the members of the royal court.

The Administration of the Empire. The organization and government of the large and complex empire that had fallen into David's hands required the talents and skills of an educated and cultured ruling class as well as an elaborate and developed bureaucracy. The Biblical traditions preserve two lists of David's ministers of state (II Sam. 8:16-18; 20:23-26). Under Saul, there had been no more than three major officers (see I Sam. 20:25): Abner, commander of the militia; David, the captain of the professional and mercenary troops; and Jonathan, the king's adviser. How different were the needs of David's empire! The lists mentioned above show that David possessed a bureaucracy encompassing political, military, and religious divisions. There was a general of the regular Israelite army, a chief of the mercenary troops among whom were foreigners such as Cretans and Hittites, a recorder whose task was probably that of state herald and foreign minister, a secretary of state or state scribe, a person in charge of the forced labor or "minister of public works," and a personal royal priest as well as two chief priests. Under many of these heads of state there were no doubt large and well-trained staffs.

The art of international diplomacy and commerce and the administration of a far-flung empire required a well-educated, trained, and cultured class of officials. The Israelites had had no previous experience or even need for much of this administrative machinery and officialdom. What, then, were the sources upon which David drew for his pattern and personnel in such administration? One obvious source was the court circles of Jerusalem and the other Canaanite city-states. These had, for a long time, been involved in international negotiation and diplomacy especially during their state of vassalage to the Egyptians. Another source, no doubt drawn upon by David, was the Egyptian administrative system itself, either directly from the Egyptians or through the Phoenicians. Many of the nonmilitary officers in David's cabinet had their almost exact counterparts at the Egyptian court. Foreigners were probably hired to fill many of the lower echelon posts and some of the names of major ministers of state under David and his successor appear to be non-Hebraic.¹²

¹² Adoram, Abda, Shisha, and Elihoreph fall into this category.

Education and training were the basic requirements for building an administrative system. What the international language was at the time of David is uncertain; it may have still been Akkadian, as it was in the Amarna Age, but at any rate it probably wasn't the Hebrew dialect of Canaan. If it were the nonalphabetic scripts of either Egyptian hieroglyphics or Akkadian cuneiform, learning to write and employ such a language was an arduous task requiring competent instruction. It can be assumed that this required the establishment of an educational system—schools—at the royal court in Jerusalem and perhaps in other towns as well. Foreign and/or Canaanite scribes would have been a necessity. The texts used in such schools would have included the "classic texts" in the language involved. In other words, the concepts, ideas, and world views of other cultures would have become an important element in the upper and official levels of Israelite society.

The expansion of the Israelite state into a major empire thrust the nation into the mainstream of Near Eastern affairs. It opened Israelite life and culture to the thought, the products, and the prosperity of other cultures and in turn altered the entire fabric of Israelite life. The importance and influence of this fact will be further discussed in the next chapter.

DAVID'S DOMESTIC TROUBLES

In spite of the fact that David was in many ways a masterful ruler under whom the Israelite state reached its pinnacle of political greatness, his reign was not completely free from internal domestic and political problems. These were caused by internal struggles within his family, political discontent with the demands of David's policies of aggression, and the old north-south (Israel-Judah) tensions.

The Old Testament has preserved the names of nineteen of David's sons but notes that this is an incomplete list (I Chron. 3:1-9).¹³ The existence of a number of male offspring created a situation filled with the possibility of internal rivalry and harem intrigue. David's ineptitude in handling family matters and his indecisiveness concerning the succession did not aid matters. In addition, David's tremendous ambitions and sometimes ruthless acts may have served as patterns for his sons' imitation.

David's adulterous affair with Bathsheba and his subsequent orders to have her husband Uriah the Hittite killed in battle were used by the Biblical narrator to set the stage for David's family problems (II Sam., chs. 11 and 12). In the story, David, walking on the palace roof, spied the bathing Bathsheba and was overcome by lust for her and had her brought into the palace. Biblical commentators have consistently laid all the blame on David for this affair, but it is obvious that Bathsheba was an ambitious lady herself who probably knew when and where to bathe in order to attract the king's attention. When Bathsheba became pregnant, David tried to extricate himself by bringing Uriah

¹³ David's second-born son, Chileab (II Sam. 3:3), played no role in the stories concerning the succession. Apparently he died as a youngster.

"home on furlough" so that the child would be considered his. Uriah, however, was faithful to the sacred demands of warfare which required sexual continence (see I Sam. 21:1-6) and neither winsome persuasion nor royal wine could entice him home to his wife. His well-laid plans frustrated, David, probably in anger, sent Uriah back to the battlefield bearing a letter sketching the plot for his own demise. This story's themes of lust, conspiracy, and murder are then carried over into the narrator's accounts of David's children.

Amnon, the king's oldest son, was overcome by lust for his half-sister Tamar and devised a plan to get her into seclusion and there raped her (II Sam., ch. 13). After two years, Tamar's brother Absalom avenged his sister's rape by having his servants kill Amnon at a sheepshearing festival, being aware no doubt that this would leave him as the oldest of the king's sons and thus the most likely to succeed to the throne.

It was almost a decade after the death of Amnon before the ambitious Absalom was able to ride a general discontent with David into open rebellion against his father (II Sam., chs. 15 to 18). The disaffection of the people with the king was perhaps due to his pursuit of international and military policies which placed heavy burdens on the population and led to neglect of some domestic matters (see II Sam. 15:1-6). Absalom formed a conspiracy and had himself acclaimed king in Hebron, the city of his birth and David's first capital. David was forced to flee from Jerusalem to Transjordan, and Absalom reigned in his father's place for a few days. Absalom died at the hands of David's troops after having entangled his head in the limb of an oak tree while riding his mule underneath.

David was confronted with at least one other major challenge to his rule. The motives behind this revolt were the old rivalry between the north and south and the Benjaminites' dislike for David because of his treatment of the house of Saul (see II Sam. 16:5-8). After Absalom's death, a dispute broke out between the leaders of Israel and those of Judah over escorting the king back to Jerusalem and David's obvious favoritism toward Judah. Both groups were anxious to show their loyalty to the king and to purge themselves of any responsibility in the Absalom conspiracy.

Sheba, from the tribe of Benjamin, sounded the trumpet of revolt and raised the cry of rebellion:

We have no portion in David,
and we have no inheritance in the son of Jesse;
every man to his tents, O Israel!

(II Sam. 20:1.)

The Israelite uprising was a spontaneous and short-lived movement that ended with a siege and the leader's decapitation (II Sam. 20:1-22).

Behind the facade of unity in the Davidic kingdom, there lay deep feelings of resentment and discontent and forces for which the new orders in the new state held no attraction, forces which could be held in check only through a powerful, personal leadership willing to employ strong and sometimes oppressive policies.

7 | THE SOLOMONIC ERA

An aged and decrepit David presided over the transference of his throne to a successor, but not before the royal court and the city of Jerusalem were seething with intrigue and divisive political coalitions. David's eldest surviving son, Adonijah, assuming that he would succeed his father, had, like Absalom before him (II Sam. 15:1), chosen to act as heir apparent and had not been reprimanded by David (I Kings 1:5-6). The failure of the king to make a public declaration concerning the succession, however, had left matters uncertain.

With David incapacitated, Adonijah moved to claim the throne. He was supported by Joab, a kinsman of David and commander of the Israelite militia, by Abiathar, the priest who had been David's companion and consultant from the time of the latter's break with Saul, and by numerous royal officials of Judah (I Kings 1:7, 9-10). In opposition to the move of Adonijah, another coalition supporting David's younger son Solomon sprang into action and used Adonijah's self-proclamation as king to force David into a decision. Solomon's cause was championed by his mother, Bathsheba, and the court prophet, Nathan, who were aided by the priest Zadok and Benaiah, the commander of the professional and mercenary troops (I Kings 1:8).

Nathan and Bathsheba succeeded in convincing the king in his dotage that he had made her a promise that Solomon would rule after him (I Kings 1:11-31). The entire story and the absence of any previous reference to such a promise suggests that it was an invention that mainly owed its success to David's favoritism for Bathsheba. Such "harem intrigues" on behalf of a favorite son were not unknown in Near Eastern history.

The orders of David to his personal retainers initiated the process that led to the anointing and enthronement of Solomon and aborted the efforts of Adonijah. The latter sought asylum by clinging to the horns of the altar, which placed one under the special protection of the divine. Adonijah, perhaps knowing that he would have killed Solomon had his attempt been successful, feared for his life and left the sanctuary of the altar only after being assured that

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Biblical readings: The primary Biblical materials discussed in this chapter are the Throne Succession Story (II Sam., chs. 9 to 20; I Kings, chs. 1 and 2), the traditions of Solomon's rule (I Kings, chs. 3 to 11), the royal psalms (Ps. 2, 21, 45, 72, 89, and 110), and the Zion psalms (Ps. 46-48, 76). See map V.

¹ See Roger N. ...
² Robert H. Pfe
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Solomon would not kill him if he proved himself worthy (I Kings 1:49-53). With the capitulation of Adonijah, "Solomon sat upon the throne of David his father; and his kingdom was firmly established" (I Kings 2:12).

THE THRONE SUCCESSION STORY

The Biblical narrative of Solomon's rise to power is part of a large complex of traditions that focus upon the internal problems of David's household and the struggle over the succession (II Sam., chs. 9 to 20, and I Kings, chs. 1 and 2). This narrative is often, though inaptly, referred to as the Court History of David. Although the theme of this writing is historical and its episodes concern the Davidic court, it does not attempt to present a history of the rule of David. The interest of the writing is much narrower than this and centers almost solely on the question of the succession to the throne. For this reason, the narrative can be best designated the Throne Succession Story.¹

Since this document was separated from its context and studied apart from its present setting in the Biblical text, scholars have been almost unanimous in their praise of the author as a literary genius. The work has been described as "a masterpiece, unsurpassed in historicity, psychological insight, literary style, and dramatic power."²

The Throne Succession Story is a historical novel written to demonstrate how Solomon came to sit on the throne of his father. Every incident in the writing is an integral part of the whole, showing how alternative possibilities to succeed David were eliminated. The writer reminds the reader of the still-existing house of Saul, which represented an actual but remote possibility of reestablishing itself in the persons of Saul's grandson, Merib-baal³ (II Sam., chs. 9; 16:1-4; 19:24-30) or his more distant kinsman, Shimei (II Sam. 16:5-14; 19:16-23; I Kings 2:8-9). II Samuel, chs. 10 to 12, shows the origins of the one who was eventually to reign in his father's place. This episode with its narration of David's adultery with Bathsheba prepares the reader for David's subsequent ineptitude in dealing with his family affairs. Then, one by one, the writer introduces the rival candidates for the throne. Amnon, overcome by lust as was his father, raped his half-sister and was murdered by her brother Absalom (II Sam., ch. 13). Absalom, the next oldest son, overcome by desire for power, sought to usurp the throne from his father and died in battle (II Sam. 14:1 to 19:8). The aftermath of Absalom's attempted coup provoked the northern tribes, especially Benjamin, into rebellion against David, and the author shows how this movement was squelched (II Sam. 19:9 to 20:22). The final act in the drama deals with the unsuccessful attempt by Adonijah to secure power and Solomon's eventual triumph (I Kings, chs. 1 and 2).

¹ See Roger N. Whybray, *The Succession Narrative* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1968).

² Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, rev. ed. (Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 357.

³ The name Mephibosheth is a late scribal change to remove the reference to the god Baal in the name Merib-baal (see I Chron. 8:34).

The Throne Succession Story is one of the major literary masterpieces in the Hebrew Scriptures. In its psychological analysis of human character and activity and in its objective description of significant events, it stands alone among the historical writings of ancient Near Eastern cultures. A comparison of its portrayal of David with that found in later Hebrew tradition (for example, in I Chron., chs. 11 to 29) illustrates how willing and able the author was to picture the king in all his strength and weakness and to expose even the seamy side of his life. The multiple characterizations in the story present the reader with realistic persons and not impersonal stereotypes. His understanding of historical events as the results of human actions is evident in each episode. Only occasionally does the writer pause in his description to express a theological judgment concerning Yahweh and his relationship to the events at hand (see II Sam. 11:27; 12:24-25; 17:14).

When and why was such a work as this written? The intimate detail and the familiarity with the events narrated as well as the lack of any mention of the final disruption of the kingdom suggest that the Throne Succession Story was written during the lifetime of Solomon. Undoubtedly the author was a contemporary who lived through the experiences depicted and perhaps witnessed them from a position within the royal court itself. Interest in the question of dynastic succession and the right of Solomon to rule must be seen as the motive behind the composition of the narrative. In this regard, it is a novel of political propaganda.⁴ The advocacy of Solomon's divine right to rule is anticipated already in the story of Solomon's birth (II Sam. 12:24-25), where it is said that "Yahweh loved him, and sent a message by Nathan the prophet; so he called his name Jedidiah [i.e., "beloved of Yahweh"]." Solomon as Yahweh's elected successor to David is emphasized in the speeches of David (I Kings 1:29-30, 33-35) and Benaiah (I Kings 1:36-37) in conjunction with the account of Solomon's enthronement. The most probable time for the writing of such a political document intent on justifying the regime of Solomon as the rightful successor in the Davidic dynasty was during the early years of his rule soon after the events described in I Kings, chs. 1 and 2, when the disaffected sentiments concerning the succession were still alive.

THE RULE OF SOLOMON

In order to ensure the stability of his throne, Solomon acted swiftly to remove the court officials who had opposed his rise to power. Adonijah was put to death when he requested a former concubine of David for his wife (I Kings 2:13-25). Solomon, who was no doubt waiting for a pretense to act, took this request as an indirect move to lay claim to the throne. The appropriation of a late king's harem was one of the signs used by the new king to affirm his rule (see II Sam. 16:21-22), and it may have been that Adonijah made his request hoping to keep alive his aspirations for the throne. The priest Abiathar was

⁴ On Egyptian novels of political propaganda, see Whybray, *The Succession Narrative*, pp. 96-116.

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banished to the town of Anathoth and his office taken over by Zadok (I Kings 2:26-27). Joab was killed while hanging to the altar pleading for sanctuary, and Benaiah the commander of the mercenaries took over his position as head of the Israelite army (I Kings 2:28-35). The purge of Solomon eventually included Shimei, a member of the Benjaminite house of Saul, whom the king had forced to settle in the crown property of Jerusalem where the traditional Israelite social conventions based on ancestral land and kinship ties were not so binding (I Kings 2:36-46). In all these cases, Solomon could claim a legitimate reason for his purge, and the author of the Throne Succession Story shows Solomon as simply carrying out the orders of the dying David; but it was no longer the tribal or village community that executed vengeance and justice, it was a despotic monarch and his mercenary henchmen. A new day had indeed dawned in ancient Israel!

The narratives that we possess concerning the subsequent rule of Solomon in I Kings, chs. 3 to 11, are of a diverse nature amassed from various sources dependent upon popular saga, royal annals, and public archives and are without the overall chronological and historical structure and value of the Throne Succession Story. In spite of this, the Biblical traditions provide sufficient material to elucidate various aspects of his reign.

Military Organization. The long years of Solomon's reign were almost completely free from warfare with any foreign power. Unlike the time of David, it was a period of Israelite military consolidation and defensive preparation. Solomon introduced a new force into Israel's military organization. This was the employment of chariots which, although previously known and used in the Near East, had not been extensively adopted by David (see II Sam. 8:4). Chariotry required a highly professional military elite and extensive facilities for training and upkeep. Although the Biblical evidence is not completely clear (compare I Kings 4:26 with ch. 10:26), it has been estimated that his force averaged fourteen hundred chariots and four thousand horses. To house and supply this chariot force, Solomon constructed several "chariot cities" containing barracks for his charioteers, supply depots, and stables for his horses. One such area has been excavated at the site of ancient Megiddo.

In addition to the chariot cities, numerous Israelite towns, located at strategic and defensive military positions, were rebuilt and refortified (I Kings 9:15-22). Excavations at Gezer, Hazor, and Megiddo⁶ have unearthed city walls with casemate construction (parallel walls with intermittent cross walls) in association with a special type of city gate with four buttresses flanking the entryway. These defensive moves on Solomon's part were no doubt influenced by the reassertion of political independence by the Arameans in the Damascus area

⁶ On the excavations at these sites, see H. Darrell Lance, "Gezer in the Land and in History," and William G. Dever, "Excavations at Gezer," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXX (1967), pp. 34-47 and 47-62; and Yigael Yadin, "Hazor," and J. N. Schofield, "Megiddo," in Thomas, ed., *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, pp. 245-263 and 309-328; and Yigael Yadin, "Solomon's City Wall and Gate at Gezer," *Israel Exploration Journal*, VIII (1958), pp. 80-86.

(I Kings 11:23-25) and by the renewed intervention of Egypt in Palestinian affairs after two centuries (I Kings 9:16).

Two factors were of import insofar as the ordinary Israelite militia was concerned. Solomon's appointment of Benaiah to replace Joab as the commander of the (nonprofessional) army (I Kings 2:35) suggests that he combined the militia and mercenary forces under one commander, which would have greatly altered the previous military structure. In addition, the military reliance on chariotry and the rather peaceful international relations meant that the Israelite levy could be and was conscripted for use in the construction of general public works (I Kings 5:13-18).

Internal Administration. Solomon ruled over a state which was, in principle and practice, a bipartite kingdom composed of Israel and Judah. I Kings 4:7-19 provides a list of the administrative districts in Israel. These were twelve in number and each was governed by a high official. This list dates not from the beginning of Solomon's reign but from sometime later in his rule, since two of the district commissioners were his sons-in-law. The text is not explicit concerning the administration of Judah except to refer to the fact that "there was one officer in the land of Judah" (I Kings 4:19b). Since the time of Absalom's rebellion and the ensuing revolt of Sheba, David may also have employed two separate administrative systems in ruling over Israel and Judah.

These administrative districts were set up for the purpose of governmental efficiency especially in regard to the draft, taxation, and the collection of revenue to provide for the needs of the royal court and the military. The administrators may have been responsible also for the labor levy in use on public works projects (see I Kings 11:28, where the "house of Joseph" may be equivalent to the district of Ephraim in I Kings 4:8). Special favoritism seems to have been shown to Judah in this administrative organization, as the ratio of twelve districts to one would suggest. The extra taxation burden on Israel foreshadowed troublesome days for the state, and the separate administration shows that the union of Israel and Judah was the exception rather than the rule.

Trade and Commerce. During Solomon's reign, foreign trade flourished through caravan commerce between Israel and Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to the north and Egypt and Arabia to the south. Solomon obtained horses from Cilicia and chariots from Egypt and resold these to neighboring states (I Kings 10:28-29).⁶ In a joint enterprise with Hiram, king of the Phoenician city of Tyre, Solomon engaged in sea trade, constructing a fleet of ships and a seaport at Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Aqabah (I Kings 9:26-28; 10:11, 22). The subsequent commerce with the African and Arabian cities along the Red Sea was based on Solomon's exploitation of the copper and iron deposits in the Arabah that provided him with raw materials for use in trade exchange (see Deut. 8:9).⁷ The legends of King Solomon's Mines are of course based on this mining

⁶ In I Kings 10:28, "Egypt and Kue" in the RSV should be read "Musri and Kue," both provinces in Asia Minor. On the foreign relations of Solomon, see Abraham Malamat, "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXII (1963), pp. 1-17.

⁷ See Nelson Glueck, "Ezion-Geber," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXVIII (1965), pp. 70-87.

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activity in the Arabah. The story of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Jerusalem (I Kings 10:1-10) may reflect trade negotiations between the Israelites and southwestern Arabia, which was a source of luxury commodities such as incense and spices.

Tradition has, with some justification, considered Solomon an enthroned merchant. It should be noted that the commercial enterprises presided over by Solomon were a royal monopoly. The influx of wealth from his trading activities contributed greatly to the opulence of the royal court which, according to the description of one day's needs found in I Kings 4:22-23, was extravagant. The king was said to have "made silver as common in Jerusalem as stone, and . . . cedar as plentiful as the sycamore of the Shephelah" (I Kings 10:27), though one must allow perhaps for some slight exaggeration. The increased wealth and luxury were no doubt enjoyed by only a small percentage of the population, namely, the members of the royal family, officials, and merchants.

Solomon seems to have retained control of the major trade routes between the Euphrates and the Nile. This gave him the right to levy taxes on commerce passing along the trade routes. In one instance, Israelite territory had to be (I Kings 9:10-14).

transferred to Hiram, apparently because of a deficit in the balance of trade

Palace and Temple. Tradition and legend remembered Solomon not only as an enthroned merchant but also as a master builder. Solomon's building activity, which has already been referred to in connection with the chariot cities, military depots, and city refortifications, reached its most glorious and monumental stage in his constructions in the capital city of Jerusalem. Although he



The site of Solomon's Temple is today the location of the Haram esh-Sherif with its major mosque, the Dome of the Rock. The Solomonic Temple was built north of the City of David. The large platform of the present Temple area dates from the time of King Herod. The later temples of Zerubbabel and Herod were also built on this site.

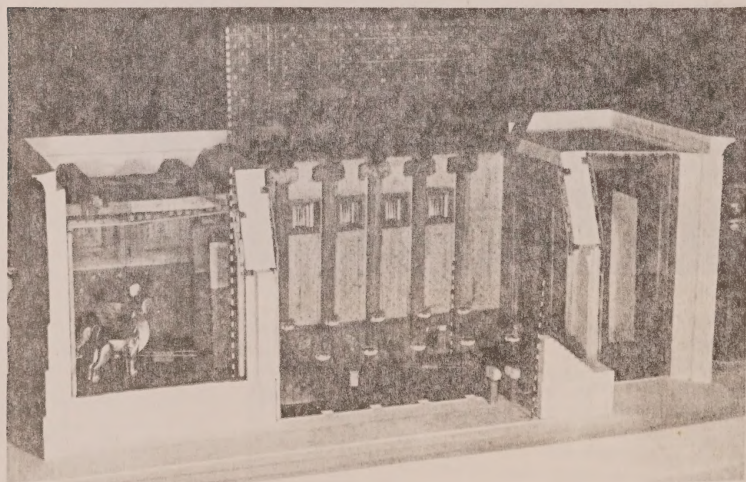
ROBERT B. WRIGHT

is said to have reconstructed the walls of Jerusalem and undertaken various works (I Kings 9:15, 24; 11:27), the Biblical texts focus attention only on the building of the royal palace complex and the associated temple of Yahweh.

In addition to his palace, the royal buildings (I Kings 7:1-8) included the House of the Forest of Lebanon, used as an arsenal for weapons and as a treasury; the Hall of Pillars, which probably served as a receiving area; and the Hall of the Throne, which was the royal audience chamber containing the highly decorated gold and ivory throne (I Kings 10:18-20).

The building of the Temple took seven years and was constructed, as were the other buildings, with the aid of Phoenician craftsmen and artisans (I Kings 6:37-38).⁸ It followed the pattern of temple architecture common to the Canaanite-Phoenician area and may have drawn upon the plans of the old Israelite temple at Shiloh (see I Sam. 3:3). The building was oriented to face the east and was divided into three main units (I Kings 6:2-6). At the front was the vestibule or portico (10 by 20 cubits) which led into the main hall or

⁸ Recent archaeological discoveries suggest that Solomon built more than one temple. Israelite temples from the time of the united monarchy have been recovered at Arad and Lachish. See Yohanan Aharoni, "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXXI (1968), pp. 2-32. The Lachish finds are as yet unpublished.



The Howland-Garber reconstruction of Solomon's Temple shows the interior furnishings of the sanctuary as well as some of the assumed methods of construction. The cherubim and the Ark of the Covenant were kept in the Holy of Holies. An incense altar and lampstands can be seen in the main hall.

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nave (40 by 20 cubits). To the rear was the inner sanctuary (20 by 20 cubits), later called the Holy of Holies. The height of the building was 30 cubits, with the exception of the inner sanctuary which was 20 cubits high and thus a perfect cube. The floor of the inner sanctuary was elevated, apparently being constructed over the sacred rock that had served as the threshing floor for the Jebusite Araunah and had been purchased by David for the construction of an altar to Yahweh (II Sam. 24:18-25). The present-day Muslim "Dome of the Rock" is built over the same massive stone.

The overall size of the Temple is a little uncertain, since the dimensions given are probably inside measurements and the exact length of the cubit employed is in doubt. The ordinary cubit was about 18 inches, but there was also a royal cubit of about 21 inches. Using the former, the building was 105' $\times$ 30' $\times$ 45', which certainly does not represent a structure to be used for large crowds or even a sizable congregation. The size suggests that the building itself was constructed primarily for use by the royal family and the officiating priests.

The entrance to the Temple was flanked by two free-standing bronze pillars called Jachin and Boaz which were 18 cubits high and crowned by decorated capitals 5 cubits in height (I Kings 7:15-22). These served no structural function but may have been understood as the traditional pillars associated with



The Mesopotamian winged, man-headed bull closely resembles the description of the Biblical cherubim. Such composite figures, as this one from the ninth-century palace of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal, were guardian beings. Similar figures appear in Egypt and in Phoenician art.

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the "high places" or perhaps as representations of the mythological cosmic pillars that supported the eastern sky and between which the sun rose.

The Temple proper was surrounded by a large open-air courtyard where most of the religious activities took place. The altar of sacrifice stood in the courtyard in front of the entryway (I Kings 9:25). Also in the courtyard was the "molten sea," a colossal water holder resting upon twelve bronze bulls facing in the four directions of the compass (I Kings 7:23-26). This molten sea has its parallels in the sacred lake of Egyptian temples and the reservoirs of some Mesopotamian temples that represented the cosmic sea and also provided water for priestly purification and cleaning purposes.

INTERNATIONALISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT

The transformation of the old tribal state into a major Near Eastern empire had occurred in Israelite culture within a comparatively brief span of time, within the period from Saul to Solomon. The accompanying changes that occurred within Israel during these years, however, were radical and far-reaching.

The Israelites were thrust into the mainstream of international life and culture and thus were exposed to diverse foreign influences.⁹ This internationalism of the Davidic-Solomonic era can best be seen at the royal court. Solomon is said to have had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines (I Kings 11:1-3), among whom were Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Phoenician, and Hittite (= North Syrian) women as well as an Egyptian princess (I Kings 9:24). Although one might suspect the number as something of an exaggeration, the cosmopolitan character of the royal harem can hardly be doubted. Along with these ladies of the royal court, many of whom were probably "gifts" from foreign rulers, would have come the thought, habits, and culture as well as the religious practices (I Kings 11:4-8) of other lands. The international influence at the royal court was not limited to the royal harem. The Israelite administrative bureaucracy was highly influenced by, if not patterned after, its Egyptian counterpart. The architecture of the Solomonic building program was dependent upon and executed by the Phoenicians. Foreign mercenaries, aliens to Israelite culture but with an unflinching devotion to the ruler, served to back up the monarch. Administrative officials and assistants versed in the international language, the affairs of diplomacy, and the intricacies of commerce and trade operated at the center of governmental authority.

The new status in which Israel found herself led to a certain secularization of her life and orders. This is nowhere more obvious than in the function of the military. In the premonarchical period war was conducted as a religious undertaking in the name of Yahweh and understood as a defensive maneuver on behalf of the general population. Beginning with David, warfare was conducted for the purpose of territorial conquest and economic advantage and was no longer basically a sacral undertaking. Under Solomon, the development of

⁹ See Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. I (Harper & Brothers, 1962), pp. 36-68.

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chiarotry further de-emphasized and demilitarized the agriculturally oriented peasants and shepherding pastoralists. Israel had become a major state, and policy and political decisions were primarily determined and executed on the basis of expediency and sagacity.

This economic prosperity and political bureaucracy created new bases of power in Israelite society. In premonarchical times, social power was primarily based on such things as land ownership, patriarchal standing, charismatic possession, and religious office. One new basis for power that developed under Solomon was the more extensive use of wealth calculated not in foodstuffs, land, or slaves but wealth founded upon a "money" economy which utilized precious metals that could be exchanged for consumer goods, commodities, and services. The frequent references to gold and silver in the narratives about Solomon suggest a widespread use of these as a medium of exchange. The use of a money economy allowed the amassing of more wealth in the hands of fewer people, especially the members of the royal house and the bureaucratic administrators and merchants. Concurrent with this development would have been a shift of the economic power and importance away from the rural areas to the major towns, particularly to those cities with governmental installations. The peasant class and small farmers must have begun to feel the squeeze of this economic centralization which further eroded the importance of the clans and the social orders built upon them.

A further new basis for power lay in the area of education. The task of administering an empire required an educated elite that could not only govern effectively but also participate in the finesse associated with international diplomacy. The type of discretion and polish required of the court attendants and servants is aptly illustrated in the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba (I Kings 10:1-10). A description of the ideal David in one of the stories of his coming to the court of Saul reflects the qualities of the good royal servant: "skilful in playing [musical instruments], a man of valor, a man of war, prudent in speech, and a man of good presence" (I Sam. 16:18). Such cultural and educational requirements naturally excluded great segments of the Israelite population and gave power to those qualified to advise, serve, and execute the orders and wishes of the king.

The presence of new intellectual forces in Israel fostered the cultivation of an educated taste and an interest in the intellectual traditions of other countries. The wider contacts of the time coupled with the existence of an educated, rather leisured class at the royal court brought Israel into touch with a form of intellectual tradition that was widespread in the Near East and international in its appeal. This is a tradition that is commonly referred to in Biblical studies as "wisdom."¹⁰ In its most elemental form, wisdom gives expression to human insights into life through the use of proverbial sayings and through stories intent on illustrating the values of a given moral system. As such, wisdom is one of the oldest intellectual activities of man. In the tribal and family life situations the

¹⁰ Wisdom will be further discussed below in Chapter 14. On international wisdom, see the introduction to R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs and Ecclesiastes* (The Anchor Bible [Doubleday & Company, 1965]), pp. xv-līii.

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Israelites were quite familiar with this form of folk wisdom, and no doubt the elders sought to pass on to the new generation the insights gained from practical experience and observation and to lay down rules for proper behavior required by the community and necessary for social success. But with the establishment of the Davidic-Solomonic court, there developed an interest in a type of wisdom that was associated with literacy, with an ideal of culture, with the totality of human experience, with what we might call a "liberal arts" education. This type of wisdom had a long prehistory of usage in Mesopotamia and Egypt, where it was cultivated at the royal court and in the scribal schools. No doubt, the necessity to train scribes for the court led to the establishment of scribal schools in Jerusalem, perhaps originally being partially staffed by non-Israelite educators. Wisdom texts from other cultures may have made their way into Israel through these schools where they served as models and textbooks. It has long been recognized that part of the book of *The Proverbs* is an adaptation of an Egyptian text called the *Instruction of Amenemope*. This introduction of foreign wisdom allowed Israelite culture to share more fully in the general reservoir of human experience.

Solomon was understood as the patron of the wisdom movement. He was said to have possessed wisdom surpassing that of Egypt and the people of the East. Three thousand proverbs and a thousand and five songs were ascribed to him. In addition, he is said to have spoken of trees, beasts, birds, reptiles, and fish (*I Kings* 4:29-34). The botanical and zoological phenomena mentioned remind one of the primitive encyclopedic works known in Egyptian and Babylonian wordlists and onomastica that sought to order the natural phenomena into classified groupings.¹¹ This portrayal of Solomon as patron and author of wisdom traditions reflects the intense wisdom activity current at the court during his reign.

It is even possible to speak of a humanism or enlightenment that characterized the Davidic and especially the Solomonic era. Such was a result of the secularization and education of the time. This humanistic intellectualism reflected a keen interest and curiosity about the natural world, human life, and man's psychological self-consciousness. This humanistic spirit can be illustrated in several ways in addition to those mentioned above. *I Kings* 10:22 notes that Solomon's ships brought back to Israel not only gold, silver, and ivory but also apes and peacocks. The first three items one could anticipate from export trade, but the last two, far from being necessities or usable commodities, illustrate a curiosity concerning the exotic elements of the natural order and presuppose a cultural sophistication with leisure time to study the unusual. Could one conclude that these animals were destined for some royal zoological gardens in Jerusalem?

The general tone and the psychological interests of the Throne Succession Story display a humanistic orientation.¹² The cult and the sacral orders are

¹¹ See Gerhard von Rad, "Job XXXVIII and Ancient Egyptian Wisdom," in his *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, pp. 281-291.

¹² See John F. Priest, "Humanism, Skepticism, and Pessimism in Israel," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XXXVI (1968), pp. 311-326.

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pushed into the background. The story contains no account of any miraculous interventions of Yahweh into the arena of history. The writer is primarily interested in the human side of events and their results. His analysis of Amnon's lust for his half-sister shows a penetrating psychological interest in human behavior. The statement that Amnon, after his rape of Tamar, "hated her with very great hatred; so that the hatred with which he hated her was greater than the love with which he had loved her" (II Sam. 13:15) reveals a deep awareness of the psychological factors involved in human sexuality.

It would be entirely false to assume that this secularized, humanistic spirit came to dominate Israelite culture during the Solomonic era. On the contrary, its influence was probably limited to the circles at the royal court, that is, the upper levels of Israelite society. Its lasting influence in Israelite culture, however, was great, and in the history of the Hebrew Scriptures it was decisive, since most of the Biblical writings were produced by this educated upper class. It would also be wrong to assume that this new spirit was anti-Yahwistic. In one respect the educated class at the court was dealing with areas of human life and experience that previously had not been associated with Yahwism at all. At the same time, even in the Throne Succession Story there is no denial of the fact that Yahweh governs history. The emphasis is shifted to portray Yahweh as working not through charismatic characters or miraculous interventions but through the natural course of events.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE DAVIDIC DYNASTY

The practical political needs of the tribes led to the adoption of a monarchical rule. The adoption of the monarchy led in turn to the formulation of a theology of kingship. A brief description of the Near Eastern ideologies concerning kingship will aid in an appreciation of the Israelite understanding of the king and his function.¹³

In Egyptian culture, the king, or pharaoh, was considered a god. He ruled therefore in the strictest sense by divine right. The divinity of the pharaoh was the link between the cosmic and human orders. He ruled as an absolute despot, and was obeyed and served as an act of devotion offered to a deity. The ruler was identified with the god Horus in this life; at death he became the god Osiris. Periodic festivals celebrated the deity of the pharaoh, and the rituals associated with his death, mummification, and burial were to ensure his proper transmigration into the order of the cosmic powers.

Deity was not ordinarily ascribed to the king by the Babylonians and the Assyrians, although kingship was regarded as an essential institution in human and cosmic affairs. Kingship was understood as one of the primeval gifts of the gods to mankind. As one of the ancient texts put it, kingship was "lowered from heaven." The king in Mesopotamian culture was considered the chief servant of the primary god (Marduk in Babylon and Asshur in Assyria) and the special object of the deity's love and concern.

¹³ A good description of Egyptian and Mesopotamian kingship is given in Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (The University of Chicago Press, 1948).

We are less informed concerning the conception of kingship current among the Canaanite and Phoenician city-states. From some of the Ugaritic texts it can be concluded that kingship probably operated on the assumption of dynastic succession and that the king was considered a son of the deity (El), and thus kingship was given a divine sanction. The order and well-being of the community were dependent upon the king, who embodied a sacramental union between the people and their god.¹⁴

The most radical political innovation in early Israelite history was the movement to a monarchical form of government. The idea of an absolute ruler was alien to the patriarchal, charismatic, and rather democratic structures of the old tribal society. In order to support and justify the idea of kingship, it had to be buttressed by a royal ideology. How much of this was developed under Saul is uncertain. The right of dynastic succession was certainly assumed by his family upon his death. It remained, however, for the Davidic house and the Jerusalemite court to formulate a substantial theology of kingship.

The Davidic theology finds expression in numerous Biblical passages but especially in the oracle of the court prophet Nathan in II Sam., ch. 7, and in the royal psalms of the Psalter (especially, Ps. 2; 21; 45; 72; 89; and 110), which were employed in cultic services in which the king was the center of attention.¹⁵ All

The Israelite temple at Arad, discovered during recent excavations, dates from the Solomonic period and continued in use for about two centuries. The existence of this building suggests that Solomon constructed more than one temple to Yahweh. Three steps lead up from the main hall into the inner shrine here flanked by incense altars.

YOHANAN AHARONI AND THE ARAD
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION



this material probably doesn't date from the reigns of David and Solomon, but the primary outlines of the royal theology were already established during this

¹⁴ See Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, pp. 218-230.

¹⁵ See Aubrey R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, 2d ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967).

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period. For its expression, this theology drew upon the concept of a covenant relationship to Yahweh that was basic to Israelite religion, the ritual and ideas of kingship found in the royal courts of neighboring empire states, and the royal concepts of Canaanite culture, perhaps especially that of pre-Israelite Jerusalem. Numerous occasions at the royal court, such as coronations, enthronement anniversaries, and times of national crisis and triumph, offered opportunity for the usage of this theology.

The cornerstone of the Jerusalemite royal theology is found in the oracle of Nathan, addressed to David as a word of Yahweh, giving divine assurance and justification for the perpetual rule of the house of David. This oracle is set within the context of David's desire to build Yahweh a house (temple) in Jerusalem. Nathan assures David that "Yahweh declares to you that Yahweh will make you a house [dynasty]. . . . And your house and your kingdom shall be made sure forever before me; your throne shall be established forever" (II Sam. 7:11b, 16).¹⁰ This divine right of the Davidic family to rule in perpetuity was never really challenged from within the Jerusalem court, and when its rule was ended by outside forces the right was caught up in the anticipation and hopes for the future which looked forward to the restoration of Davidic rule.

The royal theology was given its fullest expression in the ritual of enthronement, a description of which is recorded in two Biblical narratives (I Kings 1:32-48 and II Kings, ch. 11). In neither of these accounts is there an attempt to detail the elements in the coronation ritual; they are both intended to narrate the activity associated with two extenuating circumstances that required special precautions. The first is the story of Solomon's hasty accession to abort the moves of Adonijah; the second tells of the assassination of the usurper queen Athaliah and her replacement with the young lad Joash.

In the sanctuary, or in the case of Solomon at the sacred spring Gihon, the future king was anointed with holy oil, thus making him the messiah. (The term "messiah" simply means "anointed.") He was then presented with the crown and the testimony and joyously acclaimed as king. Conducted to his palace, the king ascended the throne and began his rule, receiving the homage of his officials and subjects.

Many of the royal psalms (such as Ps. 2 and 110) were utilized within the context of the coronation and gave expression to the Jerusalemite beliefs about the king. These psalms may be understood as containing the verbal accompaniment to the ritual of the coronation. In the enthronement ritual the king became associated in a special way with Yahweh and was elevated to a unique position. It can be assumed that the testimony presented to the new ruler was a written document containing the actual commission to rule granted by Yahweh which was based on the divine promises to the monarch and perhaps incorporated a statement of the king's obligation to Yahweh and his people. Psalm 2 appears to contain quotations made from such a royal testimony. Part of this psalm represents statements made by some cultic functionary, perhaps a court prophet (see vs. 1-6, 10-12) and also the king's recitation of the divine decree.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this significant chapter, see Martin Noth, "David and Israel in II Samuel VII," in his *The Laws in the Pentateuch*, pp. 250-259.

I will tell of the decree of Yahweh:
He said to me, "You are my son,
today I have begotten you."

(Ps. 2:7.)

The king was thus considered the divine son of Yahweh through his adoption into a filial relationship with the deity. The day of his coronation was the day of his rebirth. There is no real evidence to suggest that this idea was understood mythologically in the sense that the king was actually and physically begotten by the deity.¹⁷

The king was also promised a universal dominion and rulership over the nations of the earth. The decree of the king in Ps. 2 continues:

[Yahweh said to me:]
"Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage,
and the ends of the earth your possession."

(Ps. 2:8.)

Psalm 72, a prayer on behalf of the king, expresses a similar sentiment:

May he [the king] have dominion from sea to sea,
and from the River to the ends of the earth!
May his foes bow down before him,
and his enemies lick the dust!
May the kings of Tarshish and of the isles
render him tribute,
may the kings of Sheba and Seba bring gifts!
May all kings fall down before him,
all nations serve him!

(Ps. 72:8-11.)

This concept of the king as the universal ruler was proclaimed as a part of the court theology in both the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian cultures and might be the source for this aspect of the Davidic theology.

It is possible that this universal rulership over the nations of the world was acted out symbolically in the context of the coronation. Psalm 2:9 refers to the fact that the Davidic king would break the nations "with a rod of iron, and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Psalm 110:1 quotes Yahweh as saying to the king: "Sit at my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool." In the Egyptian royal festivities the universal rule of the pharaoh was acted out by such feats as the releasing of pigeons toward the four corners of the earth, the pacing off of a rectangular field representing the earth, and the smashing of pottery vessels and figurines representative of the Egyptian enemies. Among the finds in the tomb of Tutankhamen were two footstools with stylized representations of the traditional enemies of Egypt. Thus when the pharaoh sat on his throne, his enemies were his footstool! Similar actions no doubt formed part of

¹⁷ See Gerald Cooke, "The Israelite King as Son of God," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, LXXIII (1961), pp. 202-225.

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the Israelite ritual, with quotations such as Ps. 2:8-12 and 110:1 being the spoken accompaniment. The reference in Ps. 110:1 to the king's sitting "at the right hand of Yahweh" refers of course to the fact that the king's throne room was to the right of the temple in which Yahweh was enthroned over the Ark.

The Davidic rulers in Jerusalem were not only king over the states of Israel and Judah but also ruler over the city-state of Jerusalem. It is in this light that the following verse is to be understood:

Yahweh has sworn
and will not change his mind,
"You are a priest for ever
after the order of Melchizedek."
(Ps. 110:4.)

Melchizedek is mentioned in one other place in the Old Testament. This is in Gen. 14:18-20, where he is described as the priest-king of the god El-Elyon (God Most High) in Salem. In Ps. 76, Salem and Zion are identified, so that one can conclude that Melchizedek was the legendary king of Jerusalem. As king of the royal property of Jerusalem, the Davidic kings were considered the successors in the old order of the Jebusite priest-kings.

The new status of the king as ruler and son of Yahweh was probably recognized by his being given a new name and/or a set of titles. Several kings are known by two names in the Bible. Solomon was also known as Jedidiah, "beloved of Yahweh" (II Sam. 12:25), and such passages as II Kings 23:34 refer to the name change that occurred at the king's coronation. In the Egyptian ritual, the pharaoh was generally given five new name-titles. There is one passage in Isaiah which suggests that new Davidic kings were also given new titles at their coronation. The verse in question states that "a child is born, to us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder," which clearly refers to a ruler and the birth perhaps means the king's "birth" as the son of Yahweh in the royal ritual. The passage continues:

His name will be called
"Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God,
Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace."
(Isa. 9:6.)

The accession of the new king in Jerusalem was heralded as the announcement of a new order in human life and even in the world of nature.

May he live while the sun endures,
and as long as the moon, throughout all generations!
May he be like rain that falls on the mown grass,
like showers that water the earth!
In his days may righteousness flourish,
and peace abound, till the moon be no more!

May there be abundance of grain in the land;
on the tops of the mountains may it wave;
may its fruit be like Lebanon;

and may men blossom forth from the cities
like the grass of the field!

(Ps. 72:5-7, 16.)

The king was the special instrument and defender of justice among his people and the guardian of the law:

Give the king thy justice, O God,
and thy righteousness to the royal son!
May he judge thy people with righteousness,
and thy poor with justice!

May he defend the cause of the poor of the people,
give deliverance to the needy,
and crush the oppressor!

(Ps. 72:1-2, 4.)

This idea of the king as the source of justice and the special protector of the poor was a widespread Near Eastern concept. Hammurabi in his law code declares that the gods established him in rulership

to promote the welfare of the people,
to cause justice to prevail in the land,
to destroy the wicked and the evil
that the strong may not oppress the weak.¹⁸

The Davidic theology was certainly not given universal acceptance in ancient Israel. It seems to have had its strongest appeal to the citizens of Jerusalem, where the court was located, and to the Judeans from whose midst David had come. The northern tribes of the old confederacy of Israel seemed to have preferred a less autocratic and more charismatic form of kingship and saw in the emphasis on the house of David a further corrosion of the tribal and patriarchal authority and independence. Coupled with this was always the fact that an absolute kingship carried with it many royal prerogatives which could express themselves in the form of oppressive policies and unfair feudalistic demands. Such a sentiment against this aspect of kingship is found in Samuel's speech denouncing kingship at the time of Saul's rise to power:

These will be the ways of the king who will reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them to his chariots and to be his horsemen, and to run before his chariots; and he will appoint for himself commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties, and some to plow his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his implements of war and the equipment of his chariots. He will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. He will take the best of your fields and vineyards and olive orchards and give them to his servants. He will take the tenth of your grain and of your vineyards and give it to his officers and to his servants. He will take your menservants and maidservants, and the best of your cattle and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your flocks, and you shall be his slaves. (I Sam. 8:11-17.)

¹⁸ Translation is from Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 164.

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THE ZION THEOLOGY

The city-state of Jerusalem (Zion was the fortified acropolis) became an Israelite possession and a place sacred to Yahweh only at the time of David and thus at a fairly late stage in Hebrew history. By bringing the Ark to Jerusalem, David made the city the primary religious center of the Israelite nation. Along with the Ark, there came some of the old Yahwistic tribal traditions and sentiments. The building of the Temple by Solomon greatly enhanced the significance of Zion and provided the state cult and its god with an adequate and magnificent edifice.

The importance of Zion in both the religious and the political spheres was given expression in a definite theology of the Holy City which seems to have been a combination of elements taken partially from the older Yahwism and partially from the pre-Israelite Jerusalem cult. It should be recalled that David had two major priests—Abiathar, from the Israelite priesthood; and Zadok, who was first mentioned in the texts after the capture of Jerusalem and was in all probability a representative of the pre-Israelite Jerusalem cult. This special Zion theology found expression in numerous places throughout the Psalter but especially in such Zion psalms or songs (see Ps. 137:3) as Ps. 46; 48; and 76.

Zion was considered the dwelling place of Yahweh where he sat enthroned in the temple and it was claimed that he had founded the city just as he had created the earth.

In Judah God is known,
his name is great in Israel.
His abode has been established in Salem,
his dwelling place in Zion.

(Ps. 76:1-2.)

He chose the tribe of Judah,
Mount Zion, which he loves,
He built his sanctuary like the high heavens,
like the earth, which he has founded for ever.

(Ps. 78:68-69.)

Zion was identified with the cosmic "mountain of god" which was a common phenomenon of faith in the Near East, as is evidenced by the artificial mountains (ziggurats) associated with Mesopotamian religion and the mountain abodes of the Canaanite deities.¹⁹ In giving expression to this aspect of the sacred city and mountain cosmology, the Jerusalem circles seem to have borrowed from the mythologies associated with the two major Canaanite gods, El and Baal. Psalm 46:4 speaks of "a river whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy habitation of the Most High [Elyon]." The psalm goes on to identify Elyon with Yahweh, and the holy habitation is clearly understood as Zion. There was of course no river in Zion, but in the El mythology of the Canaanites, El dwelt "at the source of the two streams, in the midst of the source of the deeps."

¹⁹ See Clements, *God and Temple*, pp. 40-62.

Here one sees the idea of a cosmic dwelling of the god at the source of the cosmic streams (note the rivers that flowed out of the Garden of Eden according to Gen. 2:10-14) which became associated in the Zion theology with Yahweh. The Psalms contain the following affirmation:

Great is Yahweh and greatly to be praised
in the city of our God!
His holy mountain, beautiful in elevation,
is the joy of all the earth,
Mount Zion, in the far north [or in the recesses of Zaphon],
the city of the great King.
Within her citadels God
has shown himself a sure defense.

(Ps. 48:1-3.)

Here the Zion tradition has taken over mythology associated with Baal, who, following his defeat of Yam, was acclaimed as king of the gods, and subsequently had a temple on Mount Zaphon constructed for him. It should be noted in this connection that Yahweh had been understood from earliest times to be closely associated with a sacred mountain, namely, Mt. Sinai.

A constant theme in Ps. 46; 48; and 76 is the stability and security of Zion. Though the nations rage, armies assault, the mountains quake, and the earth melt, Zion is to stand firm and witness the destruction of her enemies.

There are a number of factors which suggest that this Zion theology was given expression in an annual celebration commemorating the founding of the city and the beginning of Yahweh's kingship in Zion over the nations of the world.²⁰ This celebration was probably part of the autumn festival, which also included the New Year celebration. The New Year was the time of the coronation of the Davidic rulers and the subsequent anniversary celebrations as well as the time of the initial dedication of the Temple (I Kings 8:2). Such a festival commemorating Yahweh's kingship in Zion would have been a reenactment of that primordial time when David first brought the Ark to Jerusalem (II Sam., ch. 6) and when Solomon later placed it in the Temple (I Kings 8:1-11). Both of these events were accompanied by solemn assemblies of the people, sacrifices, processions, and royal dispensations of blessings. It is entirely possible that the Ark was removed from the Temple in conjunction with the festival and "ritually" lost just as it had once been captured by the Philistines (see Ps. 132).²¹ Without the Ark and Yahweh in Zion, nature and men were placed in a state of suspended animation awaiting the reestablishment of Yahweh's rule. In the course of the festival, the Ark would have been refound and accompanied to Jerusalem by pilgrims going to the Holy City for the celebration of Yahweh's kingship. Perhaps to this part of the ceremony belong many of the "Psalms of Ascent" or

²⁰ See Sigmund Mowinkel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, Vol. I, tr. by D. R. Ap-Thomas (Abingdon Press, 1962), pp. 106-192.

²¹ See T. E. Fretheim, "Psalm 132: A Form-Critical Study," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXXXVI (1967), pp. 289-300.

"Psalms of Going-Up" (Ps. 120 to 134) sung as the pilgrims and the Ark neared Jerusalem. The greatness of Zion was extolled:

Walk about Zion, go round about her,
number her towers,
consider well her ramparts,
go through her citadels;
that you may tell the next generation . . .
(Ps. 48:12-13.)

The entrance ritual reflected in Ps. 24, discussed above, was probably enacted at the outer gate of the Temple and the entry of the Ark through the gates so timed as to coincide with the rising sun of the autumnal equinox whose morning rays blazed through the pylons, Jachin and Boaz, into the heart of the sacred sanctuary.

Lift up your heads, O gates!
and be lifted up, O ancient doors!
that the King of glory may come in.
Who is this King of glory?
Yahweh of hosts,
he is the King of glory!
(Ps. 24:9-10.)

With the reinstatement of the Ark in the Temple, Yahweh again reasserted his rule over Israel and the nations.

Yahweh reigns [or has become king];
let the peoples tremble!
He sits enthroned upon the cherubim;
let the earth quake!
Yahweh is great in Zion;
he is exalted over all the peoples.
(Ps. 99:1-2.)

Clap your hands, all peoples!
Shout to God with loud songs of joy!
For Yahweh, the Most High [Elyon], is terrible,
a great king over all the earth.
He subdued peoples under us,
and nations under our feet.
He chose our heritage for us,
the pride of Jacob whom he loves.
God has gone up with a shout,
Yahweh with the sound of a trumpet.
(Ps. 47:1-5.)

This rule extended not only over Israel and the nations but included the world of creation and the gods.

Yahweh is a great God,
and a great King above all gods.
In his hand are the depths of the earth;
the heights of the mountains are his also.
The sea is his, for he made it;
for his hands formed the dry land.
(Ps. 95:3-5.)

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8 | THE YAHWISTIC HISTORY OF ISRAEL

As we have already seen, the beginnings of an Israelite literature, in the strict sense of the term, do not predate the period of the united monarchy. Prior to that time there may have been epic or poetic works in existence in some form which told of the heroic exploits and feats of tribal leaders and warriors. An epic work referred to as the Book of the Upright (Jashar) is said to have contained Joshua's command to the sun at the battle of Gibeon (Josh. 10:12-13) as well as David's lament over the death of Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. 1:17-18). A passing reference is made to a work called the Book of the Wars of Yahweh in Num. 21:14 and a short excerpt from it is quoted. Neither of these two works has survived, and therefore practically nothing can be said about their origin, nature, and content.

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Several factors are necessary to support the perspective of an intellectual plateau from which a people writes its history.¹ Among these are national self-consciousness, cultural achievement, educational attainment, and political needs. During the Davidic-Solomonic era, the educational and humanistic spirit, which was discussed in the last chapter, joined with certain distinctive theological and political needs and led to a phenomenal outpouring of historical writings.

The learned scribes at the royal court were familiar with and perhaps were influenced by the literature of other countries and no doubt possessed their own translations and imitations of this foreign literature. I Kings 11:41 speaks of the Book of the Acts of Solomon, which was probably the official annals of his reign, and perhaps the same type of record had been kept under David's rule. This annalistic record-keeping may have been the forerunner to the production of extended historical works.

Biblical readings: The primary Biblical materials discussed in this chapter are the Yahwistic passages in the opening chapters of the Bible (Gen. 2:4b to ch. 4; 6:1-4; 6:5 to ch. 8; 9:18-27; 11:1-9; 12:1-3).

¹ See Sigmund Mowinkel, "Israelite Historiography," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*, II (1963), pp. 4-26; and Gerhard von Rad, "The Beginnings of Historical Writing in Ancient Israel," in his *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, pp. 166-204.

Scholars generally assume that at least two major histories were written during this Davidic-Solomonic era. These were the Throne Succession Story (II Sam., chs. 9 to 20; I Kings, chs. 1 and 2) and the Yahwistic history of Israel (now one of the strands of the Pentateuch but found primarily in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers). Perhaps a finished form of the account of David's rise to power (I Sam. 16:14 to II Sam. 5:12) may also have been committed to writing during this time. It is the Yahwistic history that is our immediate concern in this chapter, but before discussing this, we might ask why such extensive writing of a historical form developed in Israel and is without parallel in the ancient Near East.

The fact that much of Israel's literature took the form of historical narrative was not due to some belief wholly unique to the Hebrews about the ability of their god to act in history.² Most Near Eastern deities were considered capable of intervening and were believed to have intervened in the affairs of history on behalf of their devotees. Marduk of the Babylonians and Chemosh of the Moabites were, like Yahweh, gods who acted in history. But we possess no extensive historical narratives from the Babylonians or Moabites comparable to Israel's histories of herself. In the case of the Moabites, this may be due to their failure to develop a relatively free and sophisticated material culture over a long period of time, but this was not so with the Babylonians.

A number of reasons probably contributed to Israel's extensive use of historical narrative as a literary form. In the first place, Israel was a rather late comer on the stage of history. She became a state only at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., at a time when other major states had existed for many hundreds of years. For this reason she could not trace her unique political beginnings back to that mythological time when all things began. Secondly, the Hebrews traced their origins to a place outside their occupied Land of Canaan and thus they understood themselves as immigrants and conquerors who held their land as a special favor of the deity. In such thought, the significant events in a people's life are those important times and points of departure and arrival. For these reasons, Israel took a rather ambivalent attitude toward the settled agrarian culture. Thus the people, for example, historicized the agricultural festivals of Canaan while simultaneously preserving much of their older form. Festivals originally associated solely with the cycles of nature were interpreted in relation to the Israelites' knowledge of their past. Thirdly, Israel understood Yahweh from the earliest times as a "folk god" whose primary relationship and concern were with a people and not with the world of nature or the cosmos. To this extent, the work of the deity was seen in the history of the group. Finally, Yahweh was initially understood as a militant war god, jealous of his worshipers. By nature, war gods are intolerant and unaccommodating to other deities. As such an intolerant deity, Yahweh was not associated with a female cosmic principle or a part of a pantheon in strict Yahwism, factors so necessary if people are to understand their world in terms of a cosmological mythology rather than in a historicized mythology.

² On the relationship between the gods and history, see Bertil Albrektson, *History and the Gods* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, Publishers, 1967).

³ See Peter
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SOURCE MATERIALS USED BY THE YAHWISTIC HISTORIAN

The artistic Yahwistic historian attempted to produce a history of his people covering a time span that extended from the creation of the world until the time of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan.³ The writer assumes that the deity had been known and worshiped as Yahweh throughout human history and this has led scholars to designate the work "Yahwistic." Sometimes this epic is referred to as the J source of the Pentateuch. Such a designation is based on the fact that the Germans, who pioneered in source criticism of the Pentateuch, spell the name of the deity "Jahweh." Most scholars assume that the history was written in the southern part of the United Kingdom, or Judah.

Various traditions and sources were available to and utilized by the author or authors of the Yahwistic narrative. No doubt the vast majority of these were in oral form, a living part of the people's heritage kept alive in the memory which we must realize was far more highly developed in a culture that was not accustomed to seeing everything "written down."

One of the most important sources for the Yahwist was the historical summaries that the Israelites had used in confessing their faith in Yahweh and in affirming the nation's election as Yahweh's people. These confessions gave expression to the people's belief as to how they had come to be Yahweh's chosen people in the Land of Promise. Examples of such summary credos can be found in Deut. 26:5-11; Josh. 24:1-13; Ps. 78; 105; 106; and so on. These examples illustrate the diverse ways in which these summaries could be used: in preaching, hymnic praise, hymnic confession, and instruction. All these examples focus primarily on four themes: the Patriarchs, the exodus from Egypt, the sojourn in the wilderness, and the occupation of the Land of Canaan. The manner in which and the extent to which these themes were developed seemed to have depended on the situation within which they were used. Deuteronomy 26:5-11 is a confession of faith and confidence in Yahweh without any effort to create among the people a sense of guilt. It makes no mention of the wilderness period. Psalms 105 and 106 focus on the theme of the wilderness period, but the former does so in such a way as to glorify the mighty works of Yahweh, while the latter aims at creating a sense of sin and disobedience. The skeletal structure of these summaries suggests that there had developed a sort of canonical pattern in which the Hebrews had come to express their "sacred history" but which could be elaborated and expanded to suit the needs of the situation.⁴

Also available to the Yahwist were tribal and ancestor sagas. Some of these were ethnological in nature, explaining the kinship between Israelites and neighboring groups, oftentimes deprecating the origin of other peoples (as in Gen. 19:24-38). Many sagas were etiologi- cal in nature, intent on explaining the existence of some custom, belief, or name, a type of tradition and folk story that is universal in its appeal and employment. Ancient tribal songs and poems sum-

³ See Peter Ellis, C.Ss.R., *The Yahwist: The Bible's First Theologian* (Fides Publishers, 1968).

⁴ See Gerhard von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," in his *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, pp. 1-78.

marizing and characterizing tribal history and behavior seem to have been in widespread usage among the Israelites, as they are today among bedouin Arabs. The Yahwist also found ready at hand a number of stories concerning the founding of cultic places of worship in which the local sanctuary or altar was associated with some patriarchal hero (for example, Gen. 28:10-22). These foundation legends were closely bound to the cult places which they served to justify and sanctify.

The Yahwist was most certainly familiar with the concept of the covenant which the Israelites used to express their relationship to Yahweh and their deity's gracious relationships toward them. The covenant-renewal festival, with its proclamation of the demands of Yahweh and the people's oath of allegiance as a reenactment of the Sinai covenant, was clearly known to the Yahwist and incorporated into his presentation of Israelite faith.

Common Near Eastern legends and mythology about the creation of the world, primeval history, and the origins of the human predicament were also drawn upon by the Yahwist. Many of these legends and myths had their earliest known existence already in the ancient cultures of the fourth and third millennia B.C. and often dealt with themes and patterns common to man's universal existential situation. Tracing the exact source of some of this mythology is almost impossible, since some of it may have reached the Israelites from Egypt and Mesopotamia via the Phoenicians and the Canaanites, whereas some of these mythological motifs may have had their origin in the common northwest Semitic culture to which the Israelite ancestors belonged.⁵

THE PURPOSES OF THE YAHWISTIC HISTORY

It is possible to discern a number of purposes interwoven into the Yahwistic narrative. Some of these are the special emphases of the Yahwistic author(s), whereas others were already embodied in the traditions taken over into the epic and incorporated into the general narrative structure. In order to understand the purposes behind the Yahwistic history, it is necessary to examine the structure and scaffolding that sustain the work. The fulcrum on which the entire Yahwist history balances is found in the call of Abraham and the divine promise made to him:

Now Yahweh said to Abram, "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land I will show you. And I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse; and by you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves." (Gen. 12:1-3.)

This threefold promise emphasized Abraham's becoming "a great people," possessing "a great name," and his being a source of blessing for "all the families of the earth." What precedes the call of Abraham in the epic is the prologue depicting

⁵ S. H. Hooke, *Middle Eastern Mythology* (Penguin Books, 1963), supplies a good survey of Near Eastern mythology and Biblical parallels.

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⁶ See Rom.

ing the human situation and world history within which the promise is made. What follows the giving of the promise is the epilogue showing how Yahweh guided the promise through history toward its fulfillment. It is this covenant promise to Abraham which sustains the entire structure of the Yahwistic work.

For the author, the existence of the United Kingdom and the Israelite occupation of the Land of Canaan were part and parcel of Yahweh's plan for human history. Behind the Yahwistic historian's picture of the Abraham promise there stand the figure of David and the Davidic covenant.⁶ It was in the Davidic state that the Yahwist saw the first realization of the promises to Abraham: a mighty nation with an international reputation and the means to be a blessing to all mankind. Expressions of the Davidic theology in the book of The Psalms are often almost identical to the call of Abraham:

May his name endure for ever,
his fame continue as long as the sun!
May men bless themselves by him,
all nations call him blessed!

(Ps. 72:17.)

The author, then, not only drew upon the Davidic covenant for his portrayal of Abraham but overtly related the promises to Abraham to the accomplishments of the Davidic-Solomonic empire in such a way as to emphasize the sacredness and authority of the empire as the fulfillment of the promise. To this extent, then, the Yahwistic history was nationalistic and evangelistic in intent. It sought to give a theologically sound rationale for the state and its existence by ascribing to it a sacred hallowness, the realization of an ancient promise.

The concept of a unified prehistory of the diverse Israelite ancestors also dominates the perspective of the Yahwist. Already with Abraham, the Israel of the United Kingdom is present in germ and promise. Abraham is the father of all Israel; what happens to one of the sons of Jacob is shared in by the whole. Events, then, that were originally associated with smaller groups are displayed as the acts of all Israel. The reason for this emphasis on "all Israel" is obvious, since a constant plague of the Hebrews in Canaan was their disunity and divisions which at times threatened to tear the Davidic state apart and eventually succeeded in doing so. By concentrating on the theme of a common prehistory, the Yahwist was a spokesman for the unity of the state.

The United Kingdom, for the Yahwist, was much more than the theological and political union of the twelve tribes of all Israel. It was also the state which incorporated within its political boundaries the Canaanite cities absorbed into Israel and within its theological limits the perspectives and content of an agricultural and sedentary life and thought. The ancestral gods of the fathers and the Canaanite gods of the land are identified with Yahweh by the historian. Cultic practices and places of diverse origin are amalgamated into Yahwism. Yahweh, the militant god of Sinai, had taken over, especially from El, the characteristics of creatorship and universality. The primary attributes of the Canaanite gods El and Baal were associated with Yahweh in the Zion theology (see above, pp.

⁶ See Ronald E. Clements, *Abraham and David* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1967).

131-134) and were given expression in historical narrative: Yahweh was the high god, the ruler of men and history. So a rather positive attitude is taken by the Yahwist in regard to the culture and institutions of the Israelites which had developed in the Land of Canaan. All in all, there is little anti-Canaanite bias in the material.

THE PRIMEVAL PERIOD

The first eleven chapters of Genesis are often referred to as primeval history, since they attempt to set forth the prehistorical ages prior to the entry of Yahweh's chosen people into the arena of history.⁷ The ancients seem to have understood the events associated with this period to have, in a real way, "happened" as they are depicted, since they are incorporated into their chronological and genealogical reckonings. At the same time, they seem to have understood some of these stories as depicting not only "once upon a time" events but also as embodying "everytime" perspectives. That is, the stories not only may refer to what happened at the beginning but also may contain an analysis of the human factors that led to similar recurrences in the contemporary.

Human history as described in the opening chapters of the Bible, and almost universally throughout Near Eastern thought, is conceived of in terms different from that common to modern man. For the ancients, history began not in an evolutionary tooth-and-claw condition which gradually developed toward more improved conditions but in a paradise situation which rapidly deteriorated to produce life as the author knew it with all its problems, hardships, and heartaches. For the Yahwist, human life began under ideal conditions on a paradisaical plateau, but, through man's efforts and acts, human history lost this tranquil and ideal state and, as a result, moved downward in decline and depravity.

The basic material in the primeval history which is generally assigned to the Yahwistic history is Gen. 2:4b to 4:26; 6:1-4; one of the accounts in the composite story of the Flood in chs. 6:5 to 8:22; 9:18-27; and 11:1-9. All these narrative sections seem to have originally existed as independent units which the Yahwist found in his nation's folk tradition. What the Yahwist did was to bring these together to form a connected narrative. At points many of the details in the stories are not fully integrated. The stories are like pearls which the Yahwist has strung together but without destroying their individuality.

The material in the primeval history serves as an introductory prologue to the call of Abraham in Gen. 12:1-3 and shows the predicament of mankind which had resulted from human disobedience and the subsequent curses of Yahweh on man and the world. These opening chapters of Genesis present the disintegrating and accursed history of humanity which is the background for the redemptive and redeemed history of Israel foreshadowed in the election of Abraham.

Creation and Paradise. Both Biblical accounts of the creation of man and the world in the opening chapters of Genesis are basically narratives not about

⁷ On the questions involved in the primeval materials, see Alan Richardson, *Genesis I-XI* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1953).

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the "divine creation" of the world but about the "divine formation" of the world and its orders.⁸ Neither account presupposes a state of nothingness out of which something or the existence of matter and the world developed. The emphasis is, rather, on the formation of a formless waste, the formation of order out of disorder, of cosmos out of chaos.

The Yahwistic sketch of creation (Gen. 2:4b-25) might be called the dry account of creation, since it assumes that the earth originally existed as a waterless waste without rainfall to produce vegetation and without man to care for the land. The first act of Yahweh was the formation of man ('adam) from the dust of the ground ('adamah), as a potter shapes a vessel. Man's vitality and motility—his life—comes when Yahweh breathes into his nostrils and man becomes a "living being." One could describe the Yahwistic view of the world's orders as a series of concentric circles with man at the center—the firstborn of creation—and the rest of the created orders brought into being around him. Man is placed in an ideal state, the Garden of Eden, and the flora and fauna are created around him for his usage and enjoyment.

The idea of primeval man's living in an ideal or paradise state was widespread among the Near Eastern cultures. One version pictured this ideal state as an island free from sickness, old age, or any of the problems that beset mankind.⁹ Another form of this story, in the so-called Gilgamesh epic,¹⁰ depicts a uniquely created man named Enkidu who lived on the steppe in peaceful contentment with the animals, who befriended him and roamed the land beside him until he sexually associated with a human female, an act that brought to an end his idyllic existence in the animal kingdom. There is another picture of this ideal state reflected in Ezek. 28:13-14 in which the Garden of Eden was located on a holy mountain. All these versions of man's original idyllic state were intent to show how man once lived free from trouble, and they embody the symbolic projections of man's psychological longings for the perfect and the content in the midst of a life with problems and imperfections.

The Yahwist version of the Garden of Eden envisions man as a primordial worker: he is to till and keep the garden (Gen. 2:15). According to the story, man's freedom was hedged in by only one restraint: a command of Yahweh that he not eat from the tree in the midst of the garden. Should he eat, death would be his destiny (Gen. 2:16-17). The episode of the creation of woman appears in the story as something of an afterthought, perhaps the writer's way of emphasizing woman's complementary and assumed derivative nature. It is only after the animals prove not to be proper companions for man that woman is made from the man's rib. The fact that woman is made from part of man once formed

*S. G. F. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1963), provides a good survey of the various Near Eastern creation legends, including the Biblical materials. See also Bernhard W. Anderson, *Creation Versus Chaos* (Association Press, 1967).

*A good discussion of the earliest known mythology and the idea of paradise is found in Samuel N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (The University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 112-164.

*See Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, 2d ed. (The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1949). A translation of the epic is given in Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 72-99. This document also contains the Babylonian account of the great flood.

the basic stratum of an independent etiological story: the sexes have an irresistible urge for each other and can become one flesh in sexual union and in the infant offspring because they were originally one. Upon seeing the female whom Yahweh has built for him, man breaks out into poetry:

This at last is bone of my bones
and flesh of my flesh;
she shall be called Woman ('ishshah),
because she was taken out of Man ('ish).
(Gen. 2.23.)

Man and woman, in their naïveté, were naked but unashamed.

Disobedience and Curse. In Gen., ch. 3, the writer returns to the prohibition against the eating of the fruit from the tree in the midst of the garden in order to explain the existence of man in a world that was far from paradise. Insofar as the tree is concerned, the Yahwist appears to have borrowed an ancient piece of folklore concerning man's quest for immortality in which the tree of life played the central role and man's hope to be like the gods was his desire to secure the secret of perpetual youth. This is a central theme in the Gilgamesh epic, which depicts the hero seeking, finding, and then losing to the snake (whose annual shedding of its skin prefigured rebirth) the branch from "the tree that makes one young in his old age." The Yahwist has introduced into the story the second tree, that of the knowledge of good and evil, thus making man's acquisition of knowledge his fatal attainment. Exactly what the Yahwist understood by "the tree of knowledge of good and evil" remains a mystery. Is the knowledge related to intellectual familiarity with mysteries that lie beyond man? Or to any knowledge whatever? Or to the discovery of the power of discrimination and discernment? Or to the consciousness of sex? Perhaps the tree serves only to show how man failed when confronted with the necessity of decision in the light of a divine command.

The nature of temptation seems to have been a vital concern of the writer, who, in common with practically all Near Eastern traditions, associated the occasion for disobedience with the female. The serpent in the story was not understood as any power of evil but was simply a necessary, crafty character in the drama already found in its pre-Yahwistic form. Temptation is portrayed as an enticement to attain what has been denied blended with overstatements of the divine command. (Note that the serpent extends the prohibition to every tree; and woman, defending the command, makes it include not touching as well as not eating.) The immediate results of eating the forbidden fruit¹¹ were man's and woman's loss of their naïveté—they now knew they were naked and in shame sought to hide their bodies, and fear became man's uncanny companion.

After the disobedience, man and woman refused to accept the responsibility for their guilt and engaged in a primordial game of "passing the buck," arguing "If it had not been for . . ." As a result of the disobedience, Yahweh pro-

¹¹ The idea that the forbidden fruit was the apple dates from Latin Christianity and developed because of the similarity of the Latin words for "apple" (*malum*) and "evil" (*malus*).

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nounces a series of curses upon the participants. The curses (Gen. 3:14-19) are highly etiological in nature, explaining why the snake is bound to the dust and universally despised, why woman experiences such pain in childbearing and is subordinate to man in society, and why man's labors are so unproductive and why his end is death and dissolution, a return to the dust whence he came. Although these etiologies may have been understood as describing the situation of humanity at large, the Yahwist clearly understood them as pertaining in a special way to the original human couple, Adam and Eve (Gen. 3:20-21). The curse, however, is not Yahweh's final act. The original threat of immediate death is not executed, although the pair are prevented from securing immortality by eating from the tree of life (Gen. 3:24). The two are not banished from the garden until Yahweh has graciously clothed them, providing some relief from their shame and preparing them for life outside paradisaical conditions. In spite of man's disobedience and revolt against Yahweh, life and its orders, although somewhat askew, continue.

Cain and Abel. This episode (Gen. 4:1-16) and the following Cainite genealogy (Gen. 4:17-22) illustrate the manner in which independent narratives were incorporated into the Yahwist's traditions. The reader is left to wonder at many questions. Why are the ground and man again cursed to unproductivity (Gen. 4:11-12)? Who could be expected to take Cain's life at the first opportunity (Gen. 4:14b)? Where did Cain get his wife (G. 4:17)? Such questions only illustrate the independence of this tradition, originally perhaps unconnected with the Adam-Eve stories.

A number of interests are reflected in the Cain narratives, such as occupational conflict and cooperation (the shepherd versus the farmer), cultural and sociological conditions (such as the origin of cities and music), and the origin of the nomadic kinsmen of the Hebrews, the Kenites who were probably a tinkering and blacksmithing tribe. The Yahwist has used the story to show the development of human evil which in jealousy leads man to fratricide. As a result of having killed his brother, Cain is refused the possibility of a fruitful and settled life and is forced into a wandering existence, haunted by a tormenting fear of death. Again, Yahweh doesn't leave the victim to his fate but in a gracious act places a mark upon Cain, perhaps understood as a tribal tattoo or sign, which grants him immunity. In this section, Gen. 4:26 should be noted, since it takes the worship of Yahweh back to the immediate offspring of Adam.

The Flood. At this point in his narrative, the Yahwist incorporated the story of the great deluge. The story serves to mark a radical break in human history leading almost to a new beginning, a new creation. The account of the Flood is preceded by a fragment (Gen. 6:1-4) of what must have once been a much larger mythological work telling of the origin of a superhuman race produced through the marriage of the "sons of god" (divine beings) to the "daughters of men." The Yahwist seems to have included this enigmatic passage to emphasize the "demonic" quality of human evil plagued by even an intrusion from the divine world, a breakdown between the separate divine and human worlds. Or was he merely familiar with the story of giants in the world in bygone ages

and wished to note that they lived before and not after the Flood and therefore no longer existed?

The Yahwist took this narrative as the occasion to comment on the shortening of human life as a judgment of Yahweh: man's life-span is reduced to a limit of 120 years. This number may sound extremely large but it pales in significance when one compares 120 years with the ages of the heroes in Gen., ch. 5, who lived up to 969 years. Why was such a venerable longevity assigned to these pre-Flood heroes? Even more monumental figures are found in the Sumerian king list, where some of the pre-Flood rulers reign up to thirty thousand years.¹² Apparently the ancients sought to do two things in ascribing long life to the antediluvians. In the first place, they were expressing a belief in a golden age at the beginning, with the extraordinary as the rule. Secondly, assigning long lives to these heroes was a way of expressing a belief in the antiquity of the world. Stretching the time, rather than cramming the name lists, gave expression to the sense of the world's ancient age.

The story of the Flood in Gen. 6:5 to 8:22 is a composite account of the Yahwistic version interlaced with a later-developed Israelite narrative, the so-called Priestly source. The tale of a universal flood was widespread in Near Eastern cultures from the time of the Sumerians on. Perhaps belief in such a world-wide catastrophe was the ancients' way of demarcating world ages, and a flood was one way to allow for both destruction and germinal preservation. The accompanying chart presents the various features of the Flood story in one of its non-Biblical and in both Biblical forms.

In the Biblical tradition, the Flood is understood in a monotheistic and ethical context. Only Yahweh, not a plurality of gods, is involved, and it is not the divine caprice but judgment that brings on the deluge. In the Yahwistic writer's reflections on the Flood (Gen. 6:5-8; 8:21-22) which encase the traditional story, there reappear the double motifs of punishment and providence. In spite of man's radical propensity to evil, Yahweh promises the continuation and stability of the natural orders and vows never again to execute so great a judgment.

Noah's Curse and Blessing. With this episode (Gen. 9:18-27), the Yahwist no longer focuses his attention on humanity in general but on the immediate peoples of the Palestinian scene: Shem (Israelites and their kinsmen), Canaan, and Japheth (Philistines). This material possesses its difficulties, since the common geographical and linguistic division of the world of the nations in the Bible worked with Shem, Ham, and Japheth (as in Gen., ch. 10), and understood these in broader categories than do the curse and blessings in this passage. Noah was understood as the first practitioner of viniculture and, as such, provided man with "relief from our work and from the toil of our hands" (Gen. 5:29). What is condemned in the story is not Noah nor his use of wine (see Ps. 104:14-15) but the act of Ham, and one suspects that the original version spoke of a more

¹² See Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (The University of Chicago Press, 1939). A translation of the Sumerian text is given in Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 265-266.

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repulsive deed than merely seeing the nakedness of his father. When the reader moves to the curse pronounced by Noah, it is no longer Ham who figures in the picture but Canaan, which suggests that the beginning of one story has been combined with the conclusion of another. The blessing of Shem and Japheth at

CHART 4: VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE FLOOD

BABYLONIAN	YAHWIST	PRIESTLY
Gods decree flood.	Yahweh decrees destruction of man for his wickedness (Gen. 6:5-7).	God decrees destruction of all flesh for its corruption (Gen. 6:11-12).
Goddess Ishtar protests. Utnapishtim, hero of Deluge.	Noah, hero of Deluge. Noah finds favor with Yahweh (6:8).	Noah, hero of Deluge. Noah the only righteous man (6:9-10). Noah warned by God (6:13). Ark: 300 x 50 x 30 3 stories (6:14-18).
Utnapishtim warned by Ea in dream. Ship: 120 x 120 x 120 7 stories 9 divisions	Instructions to enter the ark (7:1). 7 pairs of clean; 2 of unclean animals (7:2-5, 7-8). Yahweh shuts Noah in (7:16b).	2 of all animals (6:19-22; 7:9). Fountains of great deep broken up, and windows of heaven opened. Exact date of beginning and end of Flood given (7:6, 11, 13-16a, 17a, 18-21).
All kinds of animals.	Flood from heavy rain and storm.	
Flood from heavy rain and storm.	Flood from rain (7:10, 12, 17b, 22-23).	
Gods cowered like dogs in fear.	Gods cowered like dogs in fear.	
Flood lasts 6 days.	Flood lasts 40 days, retires after 2 (3?) periods of 7 days (8:2b, 3a, 6).	Flood lasts 150 days, retires in 150 days (7:24; 8:1-2a, 3b).
Ship grounds on Mt. Nisir.	Ship grounds on Mt. Nisir.	Ark grounds on Mt. Ararat (8:4-5, 13a, 15-19).
Utnapishtim sends out dove, swallow, and raven. Utnapishtim offers sacrifice on Mt. Nisir. Gods gather like flies to the sacrifice.	Noah sends out raven and dove (8:7-12). Noah offers sacrifices on altar (8:13b, 20). Yahweh smells the sweet savor (8:21a).	God makes a covenant with Noah not to destroy the earth again by flood (9:1-11).
Immortality and deification for Utnapishtim and his wife.	Yahweh resolves not to curse the ground again for man's sake (8:21b-22).	God gives rainbow as a sign of covenant (9:12-17).
Ishtar's necklace of lapis lazuli given as a sign of remembrance.		

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the expense of Canaan may have originated in some rallying cry during the twelfth century when the Hebrews and Philistines were taking over territory at the expense of the Canaanites.

The Tower of Babel. This episode (Gen. 11:1-9) was included in his work by the Yahwist because he could use it as the capstone of his presentation of primeval history. It does not completely fit into the context, since the Noah stories and the table of nations in Gen., ch. 10 (which in part is Yahwistic material), had already spoken of the division of mankind into groups. The original story was an etiology to explain the existence of multiple language groups with its play on the words *Babel* (Babylon) and *babal* ("confuse"). The actual model for this make-believe tower of Babel was the ancient artificial terraced mountains with temples and stairways built for communication with the deities in Mesopotamian culture and called *ziggurats*. The story is used by the writer to show how arrogance ("Let us make a name for ourselves") and anxiety ("lest we be scattered abroad") lead to the inability of peoples to understand one another and to act in concert.

Summary. The opening episodes in the Yahwistic work sketch the downward course of human history. In acts of ever-increasing severity and degeneration, man is shown forfeiting and jeopardizing his place in the created order and disrupting his relationship with the deity. Although the writer never speaks theologically or theoretically about "sin," one could say that he shows, through narrative presentations, the eruption and spread of sin in human life and culture. Depicting man's failures is not the only interest of these stories. They portray man's condition and status as the result of divine reaction to human action; man's life is life under the curse, life burdened by the judgment and punishment of Yahweh. Emphasis is placed, however, not only on Yahweh's punishment but also on the divine preservation of man in spite of the latter's disobedience. Human life and the created orders are allowed to continue. Yahweh's acts of preservation (the clothing of Adam and Eve, the mark on Cain, the continuation of human and animal life after the Flood) do not rescind the curses, they are not "blessings." Only the tower of Babel incident closes without reference to any special act on behalf of Yahweh to alleviate the "international disorder," but this is followed so closely by the call of Abraham that one must see the reference in Gen. 12:3b ("By you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves") as the hopeful antithesis to the general disarray of humanity at large. It is in the election promises to Abraham that the writer displays the deity once again taking the initiative and speaking for the first time of the positive promise of blessings. The preceding chapters had spoken of the curse; the election of Abraham speaks of the blessing. It is here that we see the writer's great affirmation: the hope of salvation for humanity lies in Abraham and his descendants; the hope of blessing for primeval and universal history lies in the sacred history of Abraham and his offspring.¹³

¹³ See Hans Walter Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Yahwist," *Interpretation*, XX (1966), pp. 131-158. I am indebted to this article for some of the ideas in the following paragraphs.

It is in history, a in earlier with trad history so dered, bu great, and In the Yahweh's into the co of the lan theme of their failu Abraham's (Gen. 12: and Gome esp. vs. 17 weh to ble the Philist peaceful to Jacob, Yah shown as blessing to 1-9) focus state. Was task of bei the past? A ful agreeme assistance a to the Dav people of t blessed of t

FROM THE PATRIARCHS TO THE SETTLEMENT
IN THE LAND

It is impossible to discuss at length the additional material in the Yahwistic history, and to some extent it is unnecessary, since much of this has been covered in earlier chapters. In the subsequent narratives, the Yahwist primarily worked with traditional material but always with the promises to Abraham in view. The history sought to show how these promises had been jeopardized, renewed, hindered, but divinely led on toward fulfillment: Abraham's name did become great, and his offspring a great nation.

In the Yahwistic history's emphasis on Israel as the source and mediator of Yahweh's blessing to the nations (Gen. 12:3b), a new theme was introduced into the confessional traditions of Israel which had already spoken of the promise of the land and its fulfillment. Over and over again, the Yahwist took up the theme of Abraham and his descendants as a source of blessing to the nations or their failure to be this because of their lack of faith or uncooperative spirit. Abraham's deceit in passing off Sarah as his sister threatens the Egyptian pharaoh (Gen. 12:17). On the other hand, Abraham's intercession on behalf of Sodom and Gomorrah aided Lot, the father of Moab and Ammon (see Gen. 18:16-33; esp. vs. 17-19). Abraham's obedience to Yahweh ensures the promise of Yahweh to bless all nations (Gen. 22:15-18). Isaac's willingness to cooperate with the Philistines, and their recognition of him as the blessed of Yahweh, produced peaceful relations between these would-be antagonists (Gen., ch. 26). Through Jacob, Yahweh blesses Laban the Aramean (Gen. 30:27-30), and Joseph is shown as Yahweh's blessing on Egypt (Gen. 39:1-6). This reiteration of the blessing to the nations theme (see further Ex. 10:16-19; 12:31-32; Num. 24:1-9) focuses on those nations which were the immediate concern of the Davidic state. Was the Yahwist attempting to challenge the Solomonic empire to its task of being a blessing to all mankind through these narrative examples from the past? To be a blessing through intercession with Yahweh, through peaceful agreements and community of life with other powers, and through economic assistance and material life? This emphasis of the Yahwist was certainly not alien to the Davidic-Jerusalemite cult which saw the nations of the earth as "the people of the God of Abraham" (Ps. 47:8-9) and the Davidic king as the blessed of the nations (Ps. 72:17).

9 | ISRAELITE HISTORY AND PROPHECY

Following the death of Solomon, pent-up pressures within the state and centrifugal forces within the empire exploded, rending the Israelite kingdom. Internally, the Solomonic realm separated into two small and mutually hostile states, Judah in the south and Israel in the north. Externally, much of the territory outside the Land of Canaan that David had incorporated into his holdings was lost irretrievably. Israel and Judah became two among several second-rate states in the Syria-Palestine area.

THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

The Reasons for the Schism. A number of factors contributed to the division of the United Kingdom. In the first place, the Israelite monarchs had never really succeeded in welding into one union the older pre-Saul tribal groupings of Israel and Judah. Solomon had ruled over the two in the form of a dual kingdom. The original union of the two tribal leagues had been something of an artificial creation necessitated by historical circumstances (the Philistine menace) and was held together by David and Solomon, who were strong personalities but who often had to resort to the forceful suppression of divisive and popular elements. Historically and geographically, the two areas lacked many of the necessary components of unity.

Secondly, the widespread Israelite discontent with Solomon's reign, especially his labor and taxation programs which seem to have favored Judah, had brought the kingdom to the breaking point even prior to his death. In the third place, the older Israelite elements probably objected to the new theological and political trends with their emphasis on the house of David and Jerusalem and the centralization of power which was further corroding the tribal and patriarchal authority and independence. Insofar as tribal history was concerned, Jerusalem had risen to prominence late in tribal history and, at any rate, was crown property, an independent entity separate from tribal authority. Cities

Biblical readings: The history of the states of Israel and Judah, until the collapse of the former, is given in I Kings, chs. 12 to 16; II Kings 9:1 to 17:6. The prophetic books of Amos and Hosea are also discussed in this chapter. See map VI.

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The Resurgence of The Ku Klux Klan or Why America Needs A Resurgence of The Ku Klux Klan

**Why do you observe the splinter in
your sister or brother's eye and never
notice the plank in your own?**

America needs a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan...

...so that we can talk, and write of the "New Klan," the way we have talked and written of the "New South," the "New Negro," the "New Right," the "New Left."

...so that when we speak and write of the "New Klan" we can subtitle it: *White Racism in the 1980's*, thus making us feel fresh and clean inside, convincing ourselves that racism in America in the 1980s manifests itself primarily, if not exclusively, through a few hundred white, largely rural, largely Southern men and women from the blue collar or working class (referred to as "Rednecks" by sophisticated bigots) as they march around a burning cross in a Georgia or Carolina cowpasture.

...so that when we write and speak of THE NEW KLAN: *White Racism in the 1980's* we can delude ourselves into believing that racism exists in *all* ethnic and racial groups and that white racism is just one form among many, rather than acknowledging that powerless groups cannot be racist. They can be prejudiced. They can be bigoted. They can even be racist. But they cannot be racists. There is a distinction which must be made between racism and bigotry.

...so that we can write an award winning series about them.

...so that the intelligence arms of government can get bigger appropriations to investigate, infiltrate, spy upon, prosecute *white racism* in

frying pan subscriber WILL CAMPBELL lives on a farm in Mt. Juliet, Tennessee, where he sits out back by the fish pond and thinks, whittles, thinks, spits, thinks, and writes, while his corn grows tall and full. His last book was *Brother To A Dragonfly*. His latest book is *The Glad River* and will be reviewed in *frying pan* soon.

America while the real thing continues unabated.

...so that we can get foundation grants to study them —even watch them.

...so that the political tradition can be continued of poor whites and poor blacks hating and suspecting each other, against the day when some young politician might convince both groups that they have the same thing at stake, and that their real enemy is not each other. Such a political movement, we would be told, would certainly have been spawned by communism or some other destructive and alien force of evil, and would certainly be disruptive to the political and economic structures of the nation as we know them.

In short, we Americans need a Jonah to throw overboard, a scapegoat, someone to blame, ridicule and look down our self-righteous noses upon rather than face the fact that we have been a racist nation from the time we stole this land from some dark skinned people, bought and sold other dark skinned people to each other to build it, and fought two global wars to preserve it.

— * —

Having the cutesies about an issue as filled with emotional intensity as the Ku Klux Klan before a *frying pan* audience is not without its hazards. I am part of that audience so I know. And from the beginning I have considered us a sort of club. But this is not intended to be frivolous. A case can be made that each of the things stated play a part in what the national press refers to as the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. Rather than trying to develop those cases, I will try to speak of the myth and reality of the so-called resurgence of the Klan in a conversational manner, pretending that my fellow club members are sitting with me beside the fish pool out back. Carol, John, and I did some of that a few months ago and I will try to reconstruct some of our discussion. You, of course, are free to interrupt with your own objections and exceptions. Unfortunately, I won't be able to hear you.

To discuss the issue at all has pitfalls. It is difficult to keep any clear perspective without appearing to be an apologist. If I can speak with any more passion on the subject than some others it

may be because not many years ago I was marked for death by one of the groups we lump in with some others and refer to as "the Klan." Even after the passage of time I am tempted to write dramatically and emotionally of that occasion, to tell you all about it. But never mind all that. It didn't come off. The reason was one telephone call, a call which still evokes both gratitude and uneasiness within me: gratitude that I am still alive; uneasiness because the life-saving warning resulted from the kind of deception which inevitably must accompany intelligence gathering for I have reservations about any form of intelligence gathering.

What is "the Klan?" In a sense there is no such thing. There definitely is no such thing as one giant, monolithic organization with a central leadership. "The Klan," as the term is generally used, is an abstraction. It is the pathology of the white ghetto. It exists in dozens, and perhaps hundreds, of small groups scattered about the nation. The splintering and fragmentations have resulted from bitter rivalries more often having to do with territorial rights and leadership than with ideology. It is the same kind of tug-of-war strife one finds in any ghetto.

The common "enemy" is most often, though not always, black people. That is irrational and illogical. Poor whites, it is easy to say, should identify most often with poor blacks for it is the same economic and political forces which keep each group down. But one should not say that without recognizing at the same time that most of the destructive fury of the black ghetto rioters in the 60's was equally misdirected. If the burning and looting had been done in wealthy suburban malls or financial and governmental centers it would at least have been consistent with grievances. But the violent marauding was largely confined to the area of the ghetto itself. And when it was over it was the ghetto itself which lay in smoldering ruins while the malls and statehouses stood in exemption and apparent innocence. Not to understand the parallel between these two misdirections of fury is to not understand rage itself. For rage born of years of frustration, deprivation, and promises unkept, whether black or white, has no conscience, makes few distinctions between friend or

foe. When it explodes the shrapnel is not selective, like a neutron bomb knowing neither Haig or Ber-rigan.

Of course, it was easy for those of us with a liberal eye to understand the racial eruptions of the sixties. Or at least to believe we understood them. It is not so easy for us to understand why a group of rural, working class whites in Muscle Shoals, Alabama would attack two black ministers with pick ax handles in an Omelet Shoppe restaurant with no more provocation than their presence and color. We can, however, begin to understand it as we begin to understand what ghetto life, black or white, does to people. And as we begin to see that few violent criminal acts ever make any sense. Of course, if we are not morally sickened by that incident we are not worthy of the mark of baptism, the only common bond of our *frying pan* kinship. Being then sickened by the incident because we know it to be brutal, irrational, unjust, and dehumanizing, what is our response? What do we do about it?

Well, beating one another with ax handles is against the law. The easiest response is to say that it is a police and court problem, which is what most of us did. Two of the men were given a year in prison. They were criminals. Yet many, if not most of us who rejoiced at their convictions and incarceration believe that prisons are not the answer to America's crime problem. So we begin to emend the Lord's inaugural address to read: "I have come to proclaim release to captives, unless they hit a fellow human being on the head with an ax handle." Or to cross our fingers when we sing with Joan Baez, "We're gonna raze the prisons to the ground." Our causes sometimes get mixed up and work at cross purposes. I confess to having been one of those whose visera felt that justice had been done in the case of those who hit my brothers with ax handles, but I am haunted by the unconditional wording of the inaugural. There is simply nothing there about ideology. And I am further bothered by the knowledge that it was other of my brothers who did the hitting —brothers for whom Christ also died, and whose release he proclaimed.

Understanding comes even harder when we recall what happened in Greensboro, North

Carolina a year ago last October. Five people died there, shot down in the streets like wild beasts. And to date none of them has been convicted of the crimes. The gravity of that incident was minimized by the press's continued use of two negative code words. COMMUNISTS KILLED BY KLANSMEN. What that really means is: "Those who had it coming were killed by those of whom we expect no better." That way we don't have to deal with widows and orphans. Nor with thirteen human beings locked in the Guilford County jail charged with murder. Not even with their wives and parents, some of whom I watched come to the jail on the first visiting day but who were too timid, or uninformed to approach the window and seek permission to visit their sons or husbands.

I admit to having been impatient with the strategy of the Communist Worker's Party which organized the poor in the milltowns of Piedmont North Carolina. As a major slogan they chose: "Death to the Klan." I believe I understand the rationale behind the strategy. Yet, to many poor, uneducated, unemployed rural whites of the area what the slogan meant was: "Death to Rednecks, po' white trash, mamma and pappy, folks like us." Again, we are dealing here with a ghetto mentality. The strategy of the Communist Worker's Party had to do with ideas and ideology, ideas and ideology devised by intelligent, trained, and sophisticated minds. Those who rode into town from surrounding areas that day with guns in the car trunks were not skilled in dealing with ideas and ideology. But they proved that they have other skills, skills which this society has taught them. They are pretty good shots. All of us would agree that constitutional guarantees give the folks of the Communist Worker's Party the right of free speech and assembly, though some of us may question their judgment in exercising those rights in that particular manner and place. Also, if we understand what ghetto life does to people (and the slum areas of Piedmont milltowns are as certainly a ghetto as the most depressed neighborhoods of Harlem) we can grieve with the parents, wives, and children of the thirteen people locked up as certainly as we can grieve with the kin and friends of the slain human beings. In short, we can view it as a tragedy. And one does not take

sides in a tragedy. But that is also too easy. For that is to ignore our own obvious complicity in the incident. Those who did the killing said they did it for us, based on what this society has taught them for many years. "Why," they reasoned, "is it morally right to go to Vietnam and Cambodia to kill somebody I have been told may be a Communist and morally wrong to kill those in my home town who scream openly, arrogantly, and defiantly that they *choose* to be Communists?" Perhaps they are not as unskilled in dealing with ideas as we thought. For it is difficult to argue with their logic, especially when we recall that the carnage in Southeast Asia was as constitutionally illegal as the slaughter in Greensboro was in violation of that state's statutes. That leaves us with: "Two wrongs don't make a right." But we are forced to say it in the shadow of: "This ye ought to have done, without leaving the other undone."

We also read reports of training camps for guerrilla warfare in Alabama, Texas, and other places, teaching young children to hate, and how to kill the hated. Although extremely isolated and few in number, the existence of even one such center is an outrage to our sensitivities. And should be. Still and yet let us reserve at least a portion of our indignation for the thousands upon tens of thousands of children in elementary and secondary schools throughout the land who are being trained with guns and uniforms how to kill the gooks and slopeheads in the name of nationalism, a *weltanschauung* no more sacred to the Almighty than the myopic vision of the most doctrinaire Klansman.

Is there really a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in America? No, not really. For there cannot be a resurgence of something that never ceased surging. We are a nation of Klansmen, and always have been. (Somehow Klanspersons just doesn't seem appropriate.) We said earlier that a distinction must be made between bigotry and racism. I am not a bigot. Somehow, by exposure, education, conversion, or independent thinking I eased from under that rock. But I am a racist. Racism is not prejudice. Racism includes the demonic structures, forms, and institutions in which we move and breathe and have our being. And if one is white, one has the edge and there is no way to

shake it off because no matter how loudly we denounce our whiteness we still have it and can reclaim its privileges any time we please. The skin disease plagues the nation and will not go away with breastbeating about an alleged resurgence of this or that organization.

But of what is being called by the national press a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan there is another factor we should not ignore. (Demons are so clever.) We read some years ago of the murder of a Detroit housewife during the Civil Rights march from Selma to Montgomery. But only recently did we read that the man who actually pulled the trigger was in the employ of the F.B.I.

And only recently did we learn that one of the chief organizers of the donnybrook in Greensboro that left five people dead was a paid informer for the police.

You have read that Bill Wilkerson heads the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, considered by all Klan watchers to be the most violently oriented of all Klan groups, training women and children in warfare tactics, organizing youth groups in high schools, mass producing hate literature of the most scurrilous nature. Only now do we read that Bill Wilkerson has been an informer for the F.B.I. for five years. All that is to say is that it takes no genius to suspect a second gun syndrome here. An *intentional* Klan? Perhaps so. And for what purpose? Well, you figure it out. But for a starter, might it not be just possible that the larger community has something to gain by having a visible Klan around?

If you can imagine thousands of black people herded behind barbed wire fences, guarded and goaded by a hooded and robed mob of vigilantes burning crosses every midnight you are, in my judgment, paranoid. But if you cannot imagine electronic surveillance of every dissident black or poor voice, recording devices to be used when needed, an extensive file of her/his every activity, legislation already existing and more to come whereby she/he may be prosecuted and neutralized, then you are seriously deluded.

Where does all this leave us? What can we do about it?

See Matthew 7:33ff.



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Complete the following statements:

1. To me being ~~Black~~ ^{homosexual} means... *openness.*
2. To me being ~~white~~ ^{heterosexual} means... *fight news*
3. ~~White~~ ^{Heterosexual} people have been responsible for... *a lot of hatred.*
4. ~~Black~~ ^{Homosexual} people have been responsible for... *giving in.*
5. What ~~black~~ ^{hetero} people need most is... *guts, anger, rage.*
6. What ~~white~~ ^{homos} people need most is... *listening.*
7. For a black person to be healthy in our society... *is to be mad.*
8. For a white person to be healthy in our society... *is to get off everybody's back.*
9. The role of religion in promoting health for Blacks has been... *to keep them quiet.*
10. The role of religion in promoting health for Whites has been... *to give them privilege.*

Seleucus fought P. + won +
expelled Pt. from Jerusalem -
Many Jews - pro S. and assisted
in Antiochus III take over
of Jerus.

Factors which led to Maccabean
revolt

1. Pro-Hellenism among Jews.
Aristocracy - esp. Tobiad family
(High Priest)
Language, names, art, athletics
2. Condition of Seleucid stat.
Romans had defeated
Ant II at battle of Magnesia
190 BC.
Only Syria, Palestine + No.
Mesopotamia left.
Prestige crisis. Began to
loot temples.
3. Struggle over high Priesthood.
Onias III High Priest 198 - Pro Pt.

Refused temple treasures to
Seleucids., Joshua (brother Jason)
backed by Tobiads ^(tribes) + deposed
Onias. Sold high priest hood
to highest bidder.

Jason promised Ant IV more
money if he could construct
gymnasium in Jerus, enlist
sons of nobles in athletic
corporations, & enroll ~~sons~~ ^{men}

of Jerus. as citizens of Antioch.
(i.e. Greek city & own const.)

Jason led Hellenization.

athletics in nude.

enjoyed priv. of Greek
citizens

Some boys reversed
circumcision. I Mac 1:11-15.

Jason outbid for high priest
by Menelaus - Jason's repres. to
Seleucid court.

Jason fled Palestine, Onias III
was murdered (legu H P),
Menelaus (no qualifications)
looted temple - riot broke out.

4. Opposition of Hasidim to
Hellenization. Scribes &
backers of law - threat to
Mosaic law, threat to ancestral
ways, whole theoc. ideal,
& to scribes themselves.
Warrior group - not peaceful.

Ptolemaic rulers began
to plot to take back land
lost. Antiochus began
defense & was welcomed
by Jason.

Ant. invaded Egypt, on
way looted temple in Jerusalem.
Desecration & pillage of
temple added fuel to
fire.

THE REVEREND MARJORIE F. RAGONA

Rumor got back Ant had died in Egypt - Jason came out of hiding & attacked Jerus. c 1000 followers.

Civil war broke out.

3 factors -

1. Jason & followers
2. Menelaus & Hellenizers
3. Orthodox - anti hell.

Antioch stormed city when he heard of revolt, & secured Menelaus, leading troops in city.

Romans cut short Ant. efforts to take Egypt. Presented Ant c quit decree. Ant. gave in.

167 AD. Ant. ordered "all shall be one people & each should give up custom."

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REFOCUS

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Volume I, No. 2

April, 1982

ten months ago Dean Richard Nesmith fired the Rev. Nancy Richardson from her position at Boston University School of Theology. During those months letters have been written, forums held, speeches given, and a court case filed. Many people have expressed surprise that the issue is still alive. Some have asked why those at the School of Theology, "of all places," cannot be a model of reconciliation. All of us in the Committee for Justice are praying and working for reconciliation. But to talk of reconciliation without change is to talk of a false--and very dangerous--reconciliation. For all the talk, the necessary changes in administrative procedures and policy have not happened. Without such changes there cannot be healing or reconciliation.

Before World War II, Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote about his fear of "cheap grace"--a grace in which God's forgiveness was reduced to a formula in which "I like to sin, God likes to forgive, and we all get on wonderfully." Our danger today is cheap reconciliation. If the day comes when people at the School of Theology say, "Well, it's time for a fresh start! Let's slap each other on the back and go on from here," we will have engaged in cheap reconciliation. If we say, "It's been a whole year, and we're tired of this issue. Let's forget about it and call it reconciliation," we will have engaged in cheap reconciliation. We do not yet know fully what it will take for there to be just reconciliation in the School. We believe that rehiring Nancy Richardson will be an essential component. We are convinced that trustworthy consultation and candid deliberation on academic and personnel issues throughout the School will be essential components. They are prerequisite to the very process of reconciliation. This issue of REFOCUS is part of our continuing attempt to establish such openness of information and exchange as a means toward full and effective reconciliation among all who care about the School of Theology. We ask for your continued concern and prayer.

COALITION FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE

The first issue of REFOCUS reported that Dean Nesmith had agreed to meet with representatives of the Coalition for Constructive Change for the purpose of discussing the Coalition's six demands of the Administration (see REFOCUS of February, 1982 for a list of these demands). That meeting took place on February 4, 1982. At that meeting Dean Nesmith agreed to meet demand #2 (the formulation and publication of a School of Theology

(Continued on Page 2)

THE LEGAL SITUATION

The legal case continues in the discovery stage. Nancy completed her deposition on April 2nd, after two and a half days of questioning. Dean Nesmith has been questioned, also under oath, for five and a half days. Marjorie Heins, Nancy's lawyer, is still attempting to secure documents relevant to the case which were supposed to be produced by Dean Nesmith in December. Documents still not produced include Dean Nesmith's evaluations of Nancy's work.

(Continued on Page 2)

ALITION FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE (Continued from Page 1)

firmative Action/Equal Opportunity policy, including an outline of the explicit search and hiring procedures which will be followed in this administration in filling all positions within the School of Theology) by returning a draft of such a policy to the CCC by March 10. On March 15 he sent a statement, "Toward a More Inclusive Community," to the School's Affirmative Action Committee, the student government and the CCC.

After careful analysis, the CCC expressed its disappointment with the statement. In addition to a number of specific concerns, we believe that the overall document reflects a lack of understanding of the principles of Affirmative Action. We are also concerned that the document is very ambiguous and makes no concrete commitments for which the administration can be held accountable. The CCC sent a letter detailing these concerns, along with a suggested revision of "Toward a More Inclusive Community," to Dean Nesmith on March 22, 1982, requesting a meeting date at his earliest convenience.

Item #4 from the CCC relates to evaluation procedures of administrators, faculty and support staff. In light of the adequacy and usefulness of the Dean's suggested method for gathering student input evaluations, the CCC has developed a detailed method by which student input would be incorporated. This was agreed upon by Dean Nesmith, and the Coalition will meet with him to discuss its proposal.

Neither of these demands is new at the School. Faculty and students have been calling and working for the development of a sound Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity policy for years. Efforts to formulate

THE LEGAL SITUATION (Continued from Page 1)

In early April, empowered by a court order, Nancy, Marjorie, and Gerrie Casey (formerly the secretary in the Community Life Office) searched the files in that office for documents relating to United Methodist Conference and Jurisdictional funds for ethnic minority scholarships. This was necessary because the Dean, after learning of the possibility of legal action, had charged that Nancy had not pursued efforts to secure funds from those sources for School of Theology students. He alleged this as an example of incompetence. However, the Dean had produced no documentation to support his charge. As a result of the court order, some jurisdictional letters were produced by his office. However, the search of the files revealed, in addition, letters written to every Conference of the United Methodist Church and responses from many of them.

In a document filed with the Court, Dean Nesmith made the following statement. "Discussions with members of the Administrative Team, with the exception of Dr. Treese, made it clear that there was no longer a basis of relationship which would allow for continued productivity in joint working relationships with Ms. Richardson." Early in the deposition stage, under questioning, he acknowledged that he had not discussed Nancy's firing with any member of the Administrative Team prior to his decision. Nor had he discussed it with any members of the faculty.

Those interested in reading full transcripts of the depositions taken in this case and of the accompanying exhibits may obtain them through the Suffolk Superior Court.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (a selection)

Best wishes as you work on this important case. Theological education can only improve by your efforts."

Are you trying to embarrass the dean, and perhaps achieve his dismissal? Then why don't you undertake it directly instead of behind a woman's skirts, (or blue jeans)?"

Thank you for your tireless, purposeful efforts. I've been keeping track of the situation through several vague avenues. Your REFOCUS issue has helped me enormously."

Doubtless from where you sit you are engaged in a grand and noble crusade against the forces of evil. But from where I sit the whole thing is merely depressing."

Indeed I would like to know what happened, but all I hear is charges and counter-charges, demands and hurt action. I do not see where any of this will help Nancy Richardson or B.U.S.T."

I would appreciate being maintained on your mailing list, as this type of news is seldom carried in the official publications of either the school or university."

I find it exceedingly deplorable that it has so far been unacceptable and presumed impossible to resolve this conflict without resorting to civil courts."

Thank you for the 'even-handed' line of REFOCUS. It certainly lacks the flair of a paper we had called 'Up Against the Cross,' but I believe it will be effective for our purpose.

ONE EDITOR RESPONDS

Thanks to all of you for your inquiries, comments (positive and negative) and contributions to REFOCUS. We need your continued concern. We hope that this issue number two helps to answer some of your questions. We will try to address some of the questions which emerged from your correspondence in this column.

1. REFOCUS is "a bit one-sided," deliberately, in an attempt to provide friends far away with a different perspective on events from that given in the official responses of the School. We hear that the crisis at the School of Theology is often dismissed as something that will soon blow over. We want you to know why we believe it is so serious that it can't "blow over."

2. There is a serious faculty concern for the issues following the dismissal of Nancy Richardson, and for other administrative matters not adequately reflected in the names listed in REFOCUS. In June of 1981, as soon as we knew of the dismissal of at least 17 (of the 21 faculty then in residence who did not also have administrative appointments) vigorously urged the Dean to reconsider the decision. The faculty acknowledged this was an administrative prerogative (not a faculty appointment), but the protest was over the surprise and lack of consultation with Nancy or with any faculty. We also expressed our appreciation of the work and ministry of Nancy Richardson and our concern over the impact of this decision on the welfare of the School.

3. We agree with many of you, the School does not need another crisis. Indeed, some may have muted their voices out of precisely this concern. But others of us feel that the issues presented in the crisis cannot and must not be covered up or ignored if

COALITION FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE (Continued from Page 2)

and institute such policies have continually been met with resistance and lack of response from the administration. Even in the current negotiations with the Dean the students are working with a sense that our efforts may be disregarded once we have graduated. Indeed, the Dean appears to be counting on the fact that students will forget the injustices at STH over the summer and return without momentum to continue working for either Affirmative Action or evaluation policies. Dean Nesmith predicted that the outrage and the cries for justice at STH would be by October of 1981. They have not, and they will not. If Dean Nesmith does not institute a sound Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity policy and a sound evaluation procedure that includes significant student input by the end of this semester, concerned students and faculty will continue to raise these issues until some positive changes are evidenced.

Those of us in the CCC would far prefer not to have to spend the many hours we do each week working on these concerns. But given the unjust manner in which this administration has acted, and continues to act, we cannot remain silent in good conscience. Training for ministry does not happen in a vacuum. We are preparing for ministry in an institution which we believe is being administered in a decidedly unjust and unloving manner. As those being trained to be ministers of Christ we feel compelled to speak out against these injustices.

Dean Nesmith calls STH "The School of the Prophets." Indeed, it is. And we wish to honor that tradition. We believe, however, that this school can never be prophetic outside its own walls if it does not first rectify its own injustices. "Or how can you say to your sister or brother 'Let me take the speck out of your eye,' when there is the log in your own eye? You hypocrite, first take the log out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your sister's or brother's eye."

THE EDITOR RESPONDS

(Continued from Page 3)

The school is to live up to its heritage. We believe that this school has a mission as well as a heritage, and that this mission requires the working through of yet another crisis, openly and fully.

We hope that you can catch from this issue of REFOCUS that the crisis is unresolved. The issues begin with Nancy's firing, but extend far beyond that. We need your understanding and if possible, your support, as we attempt to resolve these matters.

ATTENTION: MEMBERS OF SOUTHERN
NEW ENGLAND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Committee for Justice will be holding an informational meeting at Annual Conference in June. Look for notices at Conference as to the time and location of this gathering.

the costs of filing suit and proceeding through the discovery stages and toward the jury trial are very high. People have already been exceedingly generous--both in time and money. Many hours have been contributed to writing newsletters, planning fundraising events, and working on the trial. More than \$5000 has already been contributed from people concerned with the case and the future of the School of Theology. But much more money is also needed. Costs will probably run as high as \$10,000 per year, and it will take more than one year for the case to be completed. We need the generous support of everyone who possibly can make a contribution. If you are interested in helping in this way, contributions may be sent to (and checks made payable to)

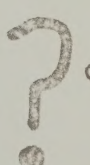
Boston-Cambridge Ministry in Higher Education
 Box 1-A Marsh Chapel
 735 Commonwealth Avenue
 Boston, MA 02215
 (designate: Richardson Legal Expense Fund)

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Ann N. Rhodes	Richard E. Harding
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BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
745 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE

Dec 4/1982

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SPRING FESTIVAL AND AUCTION

12:30

LIVE JAZZ

the Echols Brothers

12:30-2:00

B'Bque Chicken Dinner

*(vegi-option) by
Mother Mullvains Catering
Alternatives and friends.*

Cost \$3.4.5 as you can afford

2:00-4:00

AUCTION

*furniture, art items, records,
clothes, services and more*

4:00-5:30 *Contra dancing*

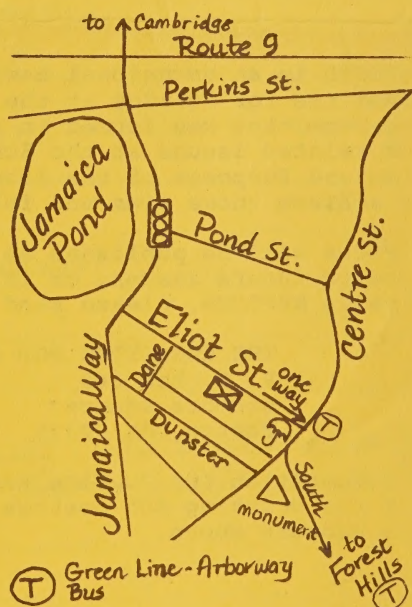
Saturday
May 8, 1982

12:00-5:30 P.M.

Eliot School Yard
Jamaica Plain

rain site:

*Unitarian church corner
of Eliot and Centre Sts.*



DONATION \$2.00 requested to cover costs

**BENEFIT- BOSTON-CAMBRIDGE MINISTRY IN
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Box 142

REFOCUS is an occasional newsletter written and distributed by the Committee for Justice at the School of Theology at Boston University. The Committee was formed in response to the firing of Nancy Richardson and related issues at the School. The Committee is committed to the aims and Purposes of the School and to the increase of justice in working to achieve those aims and fulfill those purposes.

REFOCUS will be published as events and money permit. If you want to receive future issues, or if you know of anyone else who would like to receive REFOCUS, please send your name and address to

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE
P. O. Box 246
Kenmore Square
Boston, MA 02215

The Committee for Justice also welcomes financial contributions to pay for the printing and postage of REFOCUS. Please send contributions to the address above.

There. That Xhan Doe a-4 STA B19

God's agents to break through people's loneliness.

Disadvantaged - Emotionally, materially, spiritual.
Physically challenged.

Statistics -

1. 66% want to be alone for reflective solitude.
2. 66% wanted to listen to music.
3. Meditation - prayer. TALKING - LISTENING
4. Reach out to make contacts & friends.
[friendship networks].
5. Non-social diversions
Eating - parities
Studying
Working
Shopping
6. Searching responses
7. Sexual
Drinking
Smoking
Drugs (marijuana - 3rd largest amt. of sales. cocaine sales 1st but con.)
Sex -

Philippians 4: Think on these things!

that agents to break through people's resistance.

Statistics -
Physical, mental, spiritual.

Statistics -
1. Self want to be clear for self.

2. Self want to be clear for others.
3. Self want to be clear for the world.
4. Self want to be clear for the future.

5. Self want to be clear for the past.

6. Self want to be clear for the present.

7. Self want to be clear for the future.

8. Self want to be clear for the past.

9. Self want to be clear for the present.

10. Self want to be clear for the future.

11. Self want to be clear for the past.

12. Self want to be clear for the present.

13. Self want to be clear for the future.

14. Self want to be clear for the past.

15. Self want to be clear for the present.

16. Self want to be clear for the future.

Early Catalogs of the O.T. Canon

2nd Century A.D.

Melito, bishop of Sardis, 170 A.D. - 22 books, though he appears to omit Esther. He does not include any apocryphal books.

Old Syriac Version, 150 A.D. - Same books as Hebrew Bible.

Justin Martyr (died 164 A.D.) - quotes freely from O.T. books but not the Apocrypha, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

3rd Century

250 B.C. some copies of apocrypha
Origen (died 254 A.D.) - had such a respect for the Hebrew version that he "corrected" the LXX by it. Origen does however, include an apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah with the prophecy. He states that "apart from these, i.e. canonical books, are the Books of the Maccabees."

Tertullian (circ. 210 A.D.) - gives the number of books as 24, agreeing with the Talmudic number.

4th Century

Athanasius of Alexandria, 365 A.D. - Omits Esther but states that it is considered canonical by the Jews.

Amphilocius of Iconium, 380 A.D. - Same canon as Hebrew Bible but says Esther is received by some only.

Cyril of Jerusalem, 386 A.D. - Includes Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah with the prophecy. Also includes Esther.

Gregory Nazianzen of Cappadocia, 390 - Accepts Jewish canon minus Esther.

Epiphanius of Cyprus, 390 - Jewish canon with no omissions.

Hilary of Poitiers, (350-368) - 22 books in the canon, though he lists "Jeremiah and his epistle."

5th Century

Rufinus - early 5th century. Complete list agrees with Jewish canon.

Jerome, 425 A.D. - "only books recognized as canonical by the Jews should be recognized by Christians"

15th Century

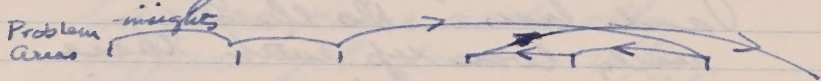
Cardinal Ximenes - Complutensian Polyglot, which had the approval of Pope Leo X.

Cardinal Cajetan - Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (supports Jerome in excluding apocryphal books)

Marjorie Ragone

Erikson seems to add little to what we've already covered. Each ~~devel-~~ developmental scheme seems to say fundamentally that there are stages through which we grow + each stage must be gone through before we get any further. I wonder if that's entirely true?

A long time ago, I went through seven years of neo-Freudian analysis. One of the things I noticed was that "insight" did not occur in a steady stream, it occurred in fits + starts + sometimes there would be months when nothing happened + suddenly there would be a whole series of new insights and growth. If it could be diagrammed it might look like this:



Piaget, Kohlberg, and all the rest are interesting if and only if we begin with the idea that the child is involved in the growth. I would suspect that one of the reasons so many people are at the lower stages of moral development is because the Church has kept them there and not involved

them in any kind of growth.
Far too much of the time the
Church has demanded conformity—
and that includes the liberal
church as well — the elements
to which one conforms are
a little different is all.

Possibly the education of little
Reformed children has changed
since I was a child (after
all that was 50 years ago)
but I suspect that much
of the reason children think
as they do is because of
what they understand of
their Sunday School
training. "God will get you
for that" certainly is the
root of much of the child's
thinking about reward &
punishment, about justice
and love. No children
really come up with these
thoughts on their own or is
there some culturally determined
central core of teaching which
leads children to their ideas
of justice, right, wrong,
openness, etc. & is that
thing the Christian Church.

I think what I'm saying is
that I suspect we've got
the cart before the horse.

Piaget, Kohlberg & Fowler are talking about moral development from a cognitive point of view, but are not taking into consideration the effect the church has already had on that reasoning and that cognition.

If children learn about justice, rules, wrong & right anywhere, most of them learned it at church or via their parents' faith & its attendant code.

I tend to think if we then use these cognitive structures ^{on which} to base our Christian Education materials that we're be chasing our own tails.

We could raise radically different children - who might have a very different moral development if the church changed its way of presenting life and expectations early enough.

I'm not sure this makes sense, but maybe it will as we go along.

Whoever Sam Keen is, I like him! He cuts through a lot of stuff (especially intellectual garbage) and makes real sense. I loved his comment that the Holy Spirit is a wild dove, not a flame pigeon. Amen.

Does faith development parallel moral development?

I am thinking of a course I took 5 ~~or~~ years ago c Harvey Cox. Cox talked about 5 elements which distinguish religions and by which they can be defined.

Canon - Scripture / ^{sacred} writings
Creed - Beliefs
Code - Behavior
Cult - Worship
Carpus - Population

To me, within that structure moral development is part of the Code area. Faith is part of the Creed. I'm not sure that the Creed part is entirely kept to the cognitive. It may well be more part of the affective domain.

As I remember from some
old Ed-Psych course, we
may know something cog-
nitively long before it be-
comes part of an affective
schema and part of what
we affirm as normative
for our lives. What I
know - for example, of
right & wrong, may never
enter my affective scheme
and I may remain
amoral for life. On the
other hand, I may accept
early on those ideas &
my code may be very
intense & very rigid - for
life. A third possibility
exists: I may have such
experiences in my life
that I (in my affective &
domains) may learn some
things which I can
transfer to my cognitive
domain which modify
my rigid ideas of right
& wrong & change me
& my behavior.

11/20/81

We talk about conversion. It's
hard to talk about conversion
if you haven't experienced it. I
find, like the old spirituals
"Everybody talking 'bout heaven
aint going there."

Conversion is:

1. A social expectation,
2. A religious experience
3. A brickbat to hit Evangelical.
4. Totally un-understood by the liberal church.
5. A beginning.

Maybe this is my essay - at any rate I think it is -
What's the difference between moral development and Conversion?

If morality is part of one's code and if moral development is how one comes to the understanding of that code & how one understands the code, Conversion is one of the ways in which one comes to an affective understanding of the creed. It is the point at which the belief structure of a community's faith is internalized and "owned" - just as moral development is the way in which the affective domain "owns" the Code.

Conversion, however, is also a social expectation among certain religious groups.

If one has heard doctrine expounded (as apposed to morality) and has been able to say "um hmn" or some such comment equivalent to nodding one's head + saying "Yes, that makes sense," one is probably a liberal, and one has met the social expectation within the corpus for being a believer. (at least that's what it seems like to this Southern Baptist who grew up in the Dutch Reformed Church, Liberal branch; i.e. Norman Peale's brand.) People did not get excited about their doctrinal stance + their faith back at Marble Collegiate. However, Evangelical Churches have a different expectation. One becomes a member of the community of faith by a socially-accepted, expected religious experience. However, there is in that an element of possibility/probability. It may happen, it may not. It is probable that it will happen; it is possible that it may not.

At a number of places in one's life it is expected that one will make a definitive statement that one has "accepted Christ." The expected ages among Southern Baptists are from age 8-15; in young adulthood (i.e. college age); during one's first year of marriage if one has not grown up in the faith & marries a Christian, in older years if one has had a catastrophic experience.

Childhood Conversions

Beginning at about age 8, the Sunday School child begins to be subtly pressured to "make a decision." The educational materials of the Baptist Training Union, certain Sunday School materials (not all), the Ambassador (non-militaristic Boy Scouts), & the girls' program, as well as youth choir materials all subtly begin to shape the child for conversion. They talk about other children's "decisions", about questions kids have re "the decision," explain the "plan of salvation," and shape the

child for the experience. Twice yearly revivals (Spring + fall) preached 8 days each by professional evangelists include a "young people's night" (actually a children's night, but not billed that way, lest it keep out adults.) The sermon this night is geared to the experiences particularly of age 12-15 and parents & Sunday School teachers are pressured to particularly bring youth that age who have not "joined the church". The preaching is of the "don't break your mother's heart," or "even kids can die & you don't want to die unsaved." Many kids "make decisions" at these services. Emotional appeals (i.e. affective domain appeals) are made for the youngsters to "be saved." The cognitive work has been done through the Btu + the Sunday School. What remains is for the child to affectively "believe" what s/he has been taught.

The process is repeated at each of the older impact ages. The revival has a "young

adult night, a woman's night, a men's night, a "pack a pew" night (get everybody you know to come, you might pick up a straggler) and the final Saturday night "scare the hell out of them" or "sinners in the hands of an angry God" kind of sermon. The children's sermon + the young adult sermons are love-centered but as the week wears on the pressure intensifies and the expectations are solidified.

Children do respond. Some make enlightened conversions and really believe + are converted (changed). Others bow to the expectations + come forward, not really having made an affective change, meeting their parents' + Sunday School teachers' expectations.

The pressure is identical on teens, young adults, older unsaved adults, and many people acquiesce to the pressure in order to keep peace at home (children, husbands + wives)

There is a more positive side to conversion other than merely as social expectation.

Conversion as Religious Belief

The more positive side of conversion is that for many people conversion is an "ah ha" experience. It's the "penny dropping" or the sudden coming together affectively of what one has known all along. It is the often cataclysmic experience, which out of one's personal turmoil, doubt, angst, pain, alienation, and separation finally integrates what one has heard + known cognitively into one's personal belief structure, often after years of the "dark night of the soul" and often may well be the result of preaching, song, prayer, etc. which at that moment reaches through the alienation + separation and integrates. The effect is often far-reaching and does indeed have an effect of drawing together the personality and placing the person on the road to sanity, stability and new life. It is indeed a rebirth.

If I had to hazard a guess as to the differing effect of "conversion", I would propose as a hypothesis that the first kind of socially expected conversion would lead to narrow individuals "working out their salvation", while the second kind are more grace-filled, gentler, easier-going and broader-based converts. I am tempted to feel that many of them are so grateful to God for the profound change in their own lives and so freed that they have arrived at what Eugenia Price calls "The wider place" that they would not condemn another but would encourage. There is a kind of "I wish you could have the experience that I have had" which turns them into "personal witnesses," attempting to convert others from a realistic place.

Conversion as a Point of Contention Between Liberals + Evangelicals

Recently I attended a panel discussion at Harvard University

in which four professors, two from Harvard and two from Gordon-Conwell discussed the dichotomy between Evangelicals and Liberals. As I sat listening to the presentations and discussion I was struck by the fact that they were really not talking to each other, nor, for that matter were they discussing the same topics. For the Evangelicals the important factor in their religious structures was the point of conversion and all else followed from that. For the Liberals, there was a feeling expressed that the Christian experience was expressive of liberation and should relate the faith to the liberation of human beings in all sorts of oppressive situations. The Evangelicals then discussed what they felt the Liberals were all about — that is, that liberation was important, but that the Liberals had overlooked the personal experience of Christ. Richard Niebuhr then spoke to the fact that while the dichotomy existed, it was a pointless debate, that Christianity was both private (personal) and public (social).

As an Evangelical who is also concerned with human liberation, I believe that both sides miss the important fact that what they are saying is not mutually exclusive. The liberation of human beings should be an outgrowth of one's personal liberation (i. e. redemption) experience and, if indeed the dominion of God must be peopled by whole individuals, the salvation experience (conversion) seems like an appropriate first step. We can be committed to human liberation, but that does not exclude the fact that we personally may need the integrative experience of shalom, wholeness, integration of the person as well as society.

The Lack of Understanding by the Liberal Church.

The churches which are salvation (conversion) centered deal with a different socio-economic level generally than the Liberal Churches. Rather obviously, the Liberal Churches see themselves as "haves" bringing liberation to the "have-nots"; dispensing

largesse. The salvation-centered churches deal with the liberation of human beings from the alienating, separating experiences of poverty, oppression, social ills, & even ~~to~~ alcoholism, drug abuse, prostitution, violence, etc. which color the lives of the poor more than of the middle class. The liberal churches have not done an adequate job of reaching out to the nearby poor in their zeal to establish missions work & racial & ethnic minorities, etc. It is far easier to send a missionary over to the shums than to invite a group of shum kids into the church (and certainly not to invite their drunken, dissolute, uneducated parents to the church). Meanwhile, the indigenous salvation-centered church is busy redeeming the lives of these people. The sociology of religion points out that the warmer, more fervent, more congregational style of the salvation-centered churches appeals more to the less well-educated.

The poorly-educated woman, indeed, feel alienated by the overly intellectualized means of dealing with the faith and need the more personal ~~sort~~ warmth of Jesus. faith which establishes their worth as God-loved + accepted human beings. Certainly this operates in the black Church as well as in white Evangelical and/or Fundamentalist or Pentecostal Churches.

Conversion as a Beginning

For the person who has been experiencing alienation, degradation, angst, separation from self, community and God, a beginning point must be found to turn this around. Conversion is that point. For the person who is comfortable and who has not experienced the alienation or separation and whose on-going relationship with God has not been disturbed, the need for conversion may not exist but for many others, whose ~~life~~ ^{lives} have been different conversion is the place at which one finds oneself "clothed + in their right mind" and on the road to wholeness and "shalom."

We must be very careful not to disparage the religious experience of others or that which meets their religious needs. The "turning-around" experience of conversion which established a relationship with God with the Christian community, and with the "code", may well place one further along on the road of moral development than the person who has not had either the shattering or the shalom-making experience - It may not. Not all the converted immediately become saints, but at the same time not all people in liberal churches are immediately aware of the need for liberation of oppressed human beings; in fact, many are operably the oppressor. There is room for both experiences, and possibly we can each learn from the other + so broaden or deepen our faith and bring about shalom in the world, both for ourselves & for our society.

12/3

John Grimes is subject to the social expectations of conversion, and in his milieu, he wants to meet that expectation, both for himself + for the others for whom his conversion is important.

12/4

We discussed All Our Kin and the networking of Black women for survival. Once, years ago, I was taken into such a network when my son was being taken care of by a black neighbor and we began a swapping/exchanging relationship. I am a believer. Also, our lesbian mother's ghetto had a similar relationship network in Providence. There was even child-swapping. Is this a phenomenon of the black community or is this a product of poverty? I suspect it is true of other ethnic communities as well, except that it is not as well documented (The Urban Villagers is an excellent documentation of Italian families in Boston, for example).

We also discussed white

Pentacostalism as a response of
poor white people to the
vacuum created when white
middle class churches de-
serted the white poor.

It's been an interesting course.
It's coming to an end, and
I will miss the closeness
of the small groups + the
sharing we have done.
This group has been an
interesting cross-section of
experiences, denominations,
men, women, etc. David
has been the one to pull it
all together quietly. Thom has
been emotional leader. Brenda
has brought deep insights
from the Black Church; Frances
has constantly reminded us
to stay in touch w/ God through
prayer. We have worked
hard + well together. Everyone
has been responsible and
shared to the best of their
ability. Jerry + I have
established Collegiality at Old
West as well - some times
I feel as though I were
on Dick Harding's Staff,
rather than just renting
space and Jerry has been
instrumental in this.

For me, personally, it has been good to get to know "straight" people. This is the first time in over 5 years that I have truly interacted with non-gay people and it has re-established my trust in church people - not as oppressors. Theological school has been a good experience, and I will miss this small group experience.

A thoughtful Journal

A.

You have contributed much to your group and you have received much.

There are theological issues as well as experiential issues in the study of conversion. Psychological criteria for the evaluation of the "healthy" conversion experiences are also important.

I think you underestimate the importance of stage theories for helping to assess where people are in their psychological and religious growth and what they are ready to learn. (The content and methodology of church education is another problem).

vastly different. I thereupon committed myself to be an important element in completing the feedback loop and to assure that the entire leadership respond to the feedback we do receive.

I found in both books enormously useful material for identifying needs and performing diagnostic testing for the church's situation. Utilizing this information, I was able to begin to put together some workshop ideas for communicating with our Vestry and for helping them to diagnose for themselves our difficulties & hopefully to motivate them (and myself) to do something about them.

With the assistance of our church clerk, I hope to put together a church leadership weekend retreat, whereby we can look at our own leadership styles, our church situation, and brainstorm ideas for solving our problems. These two books have been exceedingly helpful, and if we are able to hold our retreat before the end of this semester, I would expect that my written project will be a copy of the workshop materials and a report of the effectiveness of

the retreat. If the material makes as much impact on them as it has on me, there should be a great deal to report.

Marjorie F. Ragosa

In Management for your Church, tools which I could use for looking at our mission (or lack of it), program, + our current state of difficulty were even more effectively elaborated on. Particularly valuable were some of the diagrams, questionnaires, + instructions for their use.

Looking jointly at Paterson's Chapter, "Functions of the Church System" for the emotive content and at "Viewing the Church from a Systems Perspective" in Management for your Church, I was able to identify causes for some of our problems, both in our "transforming system" and in our input-output.

I was encouraged to look at my leadership style (human relations oriented - with a good bit of charismatic) and juxtapose it to my Vestry's which is a blend of traditional and classical, and discover why we were in conflict. I was able to identify why much of what we do doesn't work and was able to replicate the diagram of the system for our church and identify sources of our difficulty. I could see that we have a severe communication problem and that our feedback loop was broken before it got to the Vestry, therefore their response to feedback + mine were

Interestingly enough, Pattison had included a section on behavioral taboos, & even this was being transgressed, since the coffee hour was being used as a grand cruise-in, but delimiting possibilities for intimacy which was not sexual.

I was amazed, here was a diagnostic picture of my church which left me open-mouthed by its accuracy. An additional chapter, "System Functions of the Shepherd", further diagnosed my difficulty with the Vestry and gave me real hope for an eventual positive outcome. I discovered that in Pattison's stages in the relationship between group & leader there were developmental stages: Storming, forming, Norming, Performing, and that we were moving from forming to norming. I had taken our conflict as an undesirable state, but discovered, by Pattison's criteria, that this was an ~~un~~ indispensable growth phase in our progress toward a mature working relationship. What I had been doing was, indeed, "identifying the tension, confronting the conflict," and trying hard to "facilitate the resulting growth within myself and others. I was half-way home!

just like a prisoner who had just begun a three-year sentence.

Then I began reading Management for your Church and Pastor + Parish: A Systems Approach.

From Pastor + Parish, I was able to ascertain immediately that our church as a emotive system was more an artificial than a natural system. There was almost no true meaningful activity taking place other than Sunday worship. People were not interacting meaningfully, nor making the connections which would make their church life strong + effectual parts of their lives. Insufficient numbers of persons were involved in leadership, a low level of commitment was apparent, there were no precise expectations presented to the members, organization (other than the Vestry) was non-existent, and there were no real tasks being done, other than those done by the clergy (or quasi-clergy) and absolutely no goals had been set by anyone. Opportunities for association were limited to the coffee hour and to a small group which ordinarily went to supper after church (at a rather expensive restaurant, limiting the size of the group to those who could afford to go.)

unwillingness to accept the responsibility of supporting a pastor and a power struggle between ^{a minority} those contentedly in power and a discontented powerless majority of relatively new members.

In a radical new church with a mission of love and acceptance for all people, I was struck by the fact that the church was predominantly made up of males between 25 and 35, with a few women in the same age range & ^{all} relatively comfortable, well-educated & predominantly white. Where was the broad base of the gay community? Where were older gays, young gays, women, blacks, Hispanics? Worse, where was the joyful, loving spirit I had come to associate with local MCC's all over the U.S. (I have pastored in N.Y., R.I., California, and been associated with an MCC in New Orleans.) This church has a reputation for its lay-leadership, but the only lay involvement which could be seen was on the part of a 6-member Vestry, many of whom were, in effect, absentee landlords; that is, they rarely attended worship or church activities, but were faithful in attending board meetings. I was miserable, found myself in what I felt was a totally hopeless situation and

Management for Your Church and Pastor and Parish: A Systems Approach.

The papers we have been asked to write have been called reactions/responses to the material with which we were presented. I must admit that my reaction to the "Systems Approach" readings have been highly personal and my response, therefore, must reflect that highly personal involvement.

When I became pastor of M.C.C. Boston, I returned East after two years of pastoring a healthy, happy, growing church, one with a strong sense of its mission + some very distinct ideas on how it was going to get there. I had previously pastored MCC Providence, a poor, struggling, but devoted church which, by using a program designed by an MCC minister - (based, I am now sure, on Management for Your Church) had begun to grow, stabilize and dig itself out of a horrendous financial situation caused by gross mismanagement and a totally unrealistic expectation of its community support.

I arrived in Boston to find a church which was deeply in trouble, with declining enrollment, tepid support of its program, good financial management but giving far below the capability of the group,

other and interweave - the one setting forth the theological task & the other laying the groundwork for its accomplishment.

While the Barth was hard going, it was also personally rewarding for there were numerous places where I could not keep from saying "Right on!" and reading passages aloud to my home-mate. Lindgreen was an old friend, & it was rewarding to reread his suggestions for making the life of the church more worshipful & intensifying its study.

These books were a good introduction to the task of the pastor, & to the formation of a personal theology of administration.

Marjorie F. Ragosa

for every one.

As a redemptive community, we are called to do & to be in relationship and the source of our relating is in the living Christ & the Holy Spirit ("not I live, but Christ liveth within me.") Our relationships with each other & with God is for the purpose of both receiving God's love & in witnessing to it. In this way we further & strengthen the redemption of human beings & "upbuild the community."

Lindgren goes on to state that our administration must be "God-centered, person-oriented, and based upon a spiritual foundation." Persons can only live out their faith if they truly understand the nature & mission in which they are engaged. Worship, study, and spiritual quest must be the center of the Church's life for if the church does not discover its mission, it cannot live it out, & cannot - in effect - bring about the coming of the City of God.

In effect, the two articles support each

reflect ~~that~~ our fidelity to that norm..

Lindgren poses two other definitions for the church; the church as "God's Chosen Community," and "The Church as the Body of Christ" (which, ^{latter} echoes Barth's thesis). Our church sets forth its chosenness in quoting Paul's "God has chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise," and "you have been chosen, not because you were large & powerful, but because you were insignificant & weak." If we agree with Lindgren that the purpose of our chosenness is "to make known God's love", and that this is the task of the entire body of Christ, the implications for us as administrators determine that our character reflect "not those who join the church, but the one who calls us into existence" (quoting Leslie Kewbiggin).

If our task is love & redemption & reconciliation, our methods must be loving, reconciling & redemptive. We are not called just to preach but to be preachers, not just to reconcile, but to be reconcilers, etc. We are called to act out God's love everywhere,

the saints," we must determine which activities lead to our accomplishing the controlling goals of our mission.

Lindgren states that we must learn the needs, desires + feelings of our congregants and translate these into a program designed for them alone (and, one would echo Barth, for their "upbuilding".)

The purpose of our task as administrators, then, would be to provide the means by which the community can fulfill its purpose. Lindgren also calls us to reject cultural accommodation, to not become "the mouth piece of the people, rather than the voice of God."

Our activities must be in harmony with our goals and we must not permit ends to obscure the importance of the means - for it is in the means that the transformations of persons occur. If we are a "Fellowship of Redemptive Love" - which is certainly what my denomination states as its central purpose, the ways in which we choose to operate must

and make heroes of the feeble". Our "growth" cannot always be measurable in society's terms, but in what happens within the depths of human lives. Our progress is spiritual progress in communion and where there is communion, progress & growth are expected. We progress & grow because Jesus is the power of life immanent within the church; "the power by which it grows & therefore lives;" because He lives, we (the church) live. He is the quickening power which accomplishes this progress & growth (which Barth states is "sanctification."), becoming a new humanity reconciled with God.

Lindgren:

Meanwhile, against this task, Lindgren faces us with the congregational expectation that ministers will become more and more caught up in administrative minutiae, with half of our time ~~caught~~ ^{devoted} up in organizational activities

Lindgren reminds us that as administrators we are not there just to purposelessly be absorbed in the mechanics of the operation, but must be concerned with the achievement of our purpose. If, central to our purpose is Barth's task of "upbuilding the communion of

the saints" and making them truly spiritual
we play" the numbers' game," and concentrate
on size rather than spiritual depth.

Barth calls us to our true task in "The Growth
of the Community" which is not numerical
growth but in the "upbuilding" or edification,
to use Paul's term, of the community. Barth
takes this to mean augmentation, extension and
increase from within itself which cannot happen
unless there is increasing depth of understanding
and spirituality. Barth speaks against "diluting
the wine with a little water" in order to win more
bodies to the church. He is more concerned with
the quality than the quantity of Christians, and
states that the upbuilding of the community
is not in extension but in its vertical growth
in height + depth. He asks us to seek the
highest + best for the church's relationships

Barth reminds us again that Christianity
is a way, a journey; ~~and~~ that we have not
"brought our lambs to safety," and that we
have not found a place of rest.

Barth also reminds us that if the church does
its task, we will, to our own astonishment
"exalt the lowly, enrich the poor, give joy to the sad,

Karl Barth's "upbuilding + upholding the Church for Ministry" and Alvin J. Lindgren's "Foundations for Purposeful Church Administration".

Barth: Among the most interesting thoughts is that the seeds of the church's destruction lie, not in assaults from without, nor from apostasy within, but from the world, within + without, treating it with indifference.

Barth discusses the church as the soma (body) of Christ, and Christ as the kephalos (head) of the church + the indivisible tie between them. His metaphor continues as a metaphor of Christ as the "man of the end-time (aner telos)" + the church as the civitas Dei, the approaching "Kingdom of God".

Barth comments that the church is always redeemable + renewable as it remains anchored in the Scripture - but has seeds of its own demise in both sacralization + secularization; ~~xx~~ sacralization includes overliturgizing scripture and underutilizing it, while secularization includes in its dangers the addition of too many "secular scriptures" which become more important than scripture + true witness to Christ as the head of the church.

Barth suggests that one danger the church faces is ~~is~~ in its desire for numbers that we neglect true depth. (One of my church members says we do too much "outreach" + not enough "inreach.") Instead of "building up



THEE PAPER,

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Boston University
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

Deborah E. Jeter, Editor 745 Commonwealth Avenue, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 021

ATTENTION DR. SAMPLEY'S STUDENTS!

UPDATE ON THE PALMER CLAN

NOTICE TO PAULINE STUDIES CLASS

Dr. Sampley will not be in for classes this week, however the class is asked to prepare for next week's discussion by reading one of the following:

Bornkamm's Paul: the Introduction

Rultmann's New Testament Theology:
That material dealing with Paul.

The INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT class will meet as scheduled under Dr. Howard Kee.

ANNOUNCEMENT: WE NEED YOUR MATERIAL!

The "Stichers in the Spirit", a new Spiritual Growth Group, is working on a banner for, and by, the STH community. The design of the banner will be on the theme of unity, diversity and perseverance. Because we want it to truly represent the STH community, we are asking you to donate small scraps of material which will be incorporated into the design of the banner. Please give your scraps of material to Judy Lambert or Jennifer Kerby as soon as possible.

Feel free to join us Wednesday mornings from 10:00 to 11:00 in the Annex Room beside the Community and Student Life Office.

Good News! Jim Palmer is at home! He was told on Friday the 19th that he was released as soon as he could pack his things and leave. He is now recuperating at home, waiting to find out this week just what kind of program he needs to follow to stay in remission. Again the Palmer family has yet another miracle to thank God for. All the support which has come from the STH community through prayers, notes, cards, visits, the giving of blood, and the service of communion at the hospital have meant a great deal to Jim, Ruthlyn and the entire family. Our faith is strengthened each day by the many who have been with us in this fight to keep Jim alive. As we are still not sure what the future is for Jim we ask that he be kept in mind. As for Ed's surgery, it is scheduled for the 24th (today) so I shall be at the hospital hoping it will not be too difficult a procedure. Our understanding is that he will resemble a raccoon for about a month, with much discomfort. There is an old saying that happenings come in threes...very trinitarian approach I think. Well, on Monday the 22nd, while Vicki was at work at her co-op job at Northeastern, through an accident there her left wrist was slashed and she is now sporting stitches and bandages. Her boss very alertly saw that she had immediate attention before any other misfortune could strike! Our family is beginning to think that we certainly could write a better soap opera than most on TV!!! Tune in next week..I am only hoping for a calm time between now and then!

Notes from Black Seminarians

by Thomas Hill

The Thursday Noon Worship Services will begin this week, 12:30 to 1:30 PM, in Robinson Chapel.

The preacher for the service will be Atticus Taylor. All are invited to attend.

The Tuesday 10 AM worship service will be dedicated to Black History Month, which is the month of February. In recognition of this observance, Dr. John Cartwright will be preaching, with the liturgists being members of the Black Seminarians' organization. We invite the entire community to come and share in this service of celebration.

The next monthly meeting of Black Seminarians will be Thursday, March 4, 1982, 5-7 PM, in the Howard Thurman Room of Marsh Chapel. The next fellowship dinner for the group will be Friday, February 26, 1982 at 7PM. We will be the guests of Bishop and Mrs. Edward Carroll.

FROM THE FIELD ED OFFICE

The North Dakota Conference is looking for persons to work in a Summer church camp. See Ruthlyn for details.

FIELD ED (CONT.)

PASTORAL INTERNSHIP-1982 the First Baptist Church of Block Island, R.I. is looking for a person to serve as an intern. Free housing plus \$250. See Ruthlyn Palmer for details.

The Maine Maritime Ship is looking for someone to serve aboard ship as chaplain this summer. See Ruthlyn for details.

Meadowbrook Day Camp seeks counselors with group leadership experience for outdoor Summer job in Weston, MA See field ED office for details

Internship July 15- May 15, 1983
The Ministry with Women program in Urbana, Illinois is seeking a woman to serve in a 10 month internship. Details in Field Ed Office.

Fountain City UMC is looking for persons to serve on a Summer Intern Ministry Staff in Knoxville, TN

First Broad ST UMC in Kingsport, TN is looking for a Summer program assistant to work with young adults. See Ruthlyn Palmer for details.

ATTENTION: NOTICE TO
THE GRADUATING CLASS
OF 1982*****

Our next meeting will be Wednesday, March 3 from 5 to 6 PM in HARTMAN LOUNGE. The agenda will be posted in your STH box-- watch for it! Take time out from your midterm craziness and come to the graduating class meeting!

PLOUGHSHARES

Steve Harvester
Peace Intern, 1981-2

The newspapers today and every day are filled with the doings of powerful people: statesmen, financiers, and soldiers. These no matter what their particular allegiance, have one thing in common: their ultimate value is survival.

Next to survival, personal liberty may be more valuable to them than anything else; or perhaps it is the greatest good for the greatest number. But capitalist or communist, all other values go out the window when survival is at stake.

I have already suggested, in last week's column, that what is primary in "rational" ethics is not even a consideration in Christian ethics. Survival is not in the Christian value system, because for the Christian, survival is guaranteed.

The primary value in Christian ethics is agape, a particular form of love. It has been variously described as active love, selfless love, sacrificial love, suffering love, indiscriminate love, or as service to suffering others. Indeed, it has been suggested by John McKenzie (The Power and the Wisdom, The Macmillan Co., 1972) that agape is not just the center of Christian ethics: it is the center, the circumference, and everything in between. He further asserts that if we are to be judged by anything other than this in the New Testament, it is too unimportant to be considered in a working ethic for Christians today.

PLOUGHSHARES (CONT.)

An ethic which values agape to the exclusion of all other values, and which denies survival any value at all, is not "rational." It is either irrational, or supra-rational. It is an ethic whose assumption, like all assumptions, is undemonstrable in any empirical way: the Christian believes that survival is guaranteed.

The real-life consequences of this radically divergent ethic are most apparent in its extreme case: the injunction to love one's enemy. Such love is absurd in any rational ethic. For who is the enemy? The one or the many who threaten survival. If the primary goal in one's value system is survival, then destruction of the enemy is the primary moral good.

In the Christian ethic, love of enemy makes perfect sense. It is not only those who love us who are suffering--all of us are damaged; all of us need love. The one who threatens our survival has the same value in the Christian ethic as any other person, because the factor which distinguishes the one who threatens has no value in Christian ethics. Thus the Christian loves enemies because the Christian has no enemies. The category does not exist in a value system based on the conviction that survival is guaranteed.

The most diabolical aspect of the survival ethic is that it turns virtue and vice upside-down in pursuit of the very thing it can never produce: survival. The rational ethic has caused untold millions to inflict untold

PLOUGHSHARES (CONT.)

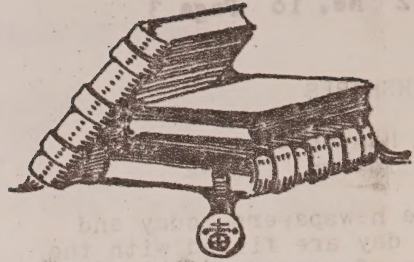
suffering on others in the hope of surviving just a little bit longer. All have failed. The mortality rate for kingdoms, corporations, and human beings holds steady at 100 per cent.

The Christian ethic runs counter to the most deeply rooted instincts of humanity: the drive for self- and race-preservation. These drives are at the core of our animal nature.

The Way of Christ takes us beyond our animal nature. It leads us into the full potential of personhood; of the perfect freedom that comes with the casting out of fear. The Way of Christ points us toward a new understanding of what it means to be human: that race so certain of their relationship with God that the life of each of them is a unique manifestation of perfect, fearless, joyful love.

* * * * *

Those of you who are still reading at this point will be interested to know that the man who taught me everything I know about Christian nonviolence will be at BUSTH on Wednesday, March 3. Fr. Charles McCarthy left his position at Notre Dame more than a decade ago in order to teach nonviolence without coercing a salary from the students. He has a wife, ten children, and no regular income. He will speak at the Community Forum from 12:30 to 2:00 pm. His subject is "The Spirituality of Nonviolence."



MUTUAL MINISTRIES JOURNAL FOR 1982

Mutual Ministries Committee wishes to thank all those who have contributed thus far to the journal which will be printed and ready for distribution by May 1.

Prof. E.K. Brown has graciously allowed us to reprint "Brown's Boston". Prof. Linda Clark has agreed to add the work done in one of last semester's classes. Kyle McGaw, Shirley Mattson, Sr. Breda O'Sullivan, Carol Mays, and Linnea Prefontaine have all contributed to the work. Several others have expressed an interest in our endeavor.

MORE MATERIAL is needed to complete the book. All right to the material given will be protected. We are looking for hymns, poetry, prayers, drawings, and other original work. There are few guidelines: anything within reason will be accepted. Bible jokes or soul-searching prose; conscious raising litanies or nonsensical musing...please join in this project and submit your material.

Who may contribute? All members of the STH community (even that Sr. High person in your field ed placement). Send your item to Fred. Hutchinson, STH 207 as soon as you can. We can extend the deadline until 15 March.

The booklet will be typeset, printed and bound for cost of materials only, approx. \$2.00 per copy. Only 300 copies of this limited edition will be published and the "plates" will be destroyed.

REVISED CCC SCHEDULE

The Coalition for Constructive Change continues to meet at the Newman House, 211 Bay State Road. The meetings are from 5:50-7pm on the dates listed below. Please mark your calendars and note that some meeting dates have been changed.

Tuesday, March 2
Wednesday, March 17
Tuesday, March 30
Tuesday, April 6
Thursday, April 15

Up-coming Peace With Justice Forums!!!

THE SPIRITUALITY OF NON-VIOLENCE, Wed.
March 3, 12:30 - 2:00pm, Oxnam Lounge
with Dr. Charles McCarthy--founder &
former director of the center for the
Study of Nonviolent Conflict Resolution,
Notre Dame Univ.; former prof. of Theological
ethics; lawyer; writer; spiritual director
at St. Gregory's Melkite Seminary in Newton.

U.N. SECOND SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT
--B.T.I. Organizing meeting: Tues Mar.16
5:30 - 7:00pm, rm.341(Shaw center)

WAR TAX RESISTANCE--a workshop with
Susan Wilkins of New England War Tax
Resistance: Wed. Mar.17 5:00-6:30pm

COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL METHODIST
CHURCHES OF LATIN AMERICA--visitors.
Thurs. Mar.18, 12:15 - 2:00pm
Marsh Chapel.

PRESENTATION ON CUBA

Three participants in the 1982
Travel/Study Seminar to Cuba,
Linda Welch, Noel Doyle, and
Carol Rossi, will share their
experiences on Sunday, February
28th from 4-7pm. Bring a brown
bag supper and join them at

Cardinal Cushing Convent
50 West Broadway
So. Boston

(Red Line-one block up from
Broadway Station)

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

Every Monday from 12:00 to 1:00 Marsh Cha
sponsors a program of lunch and a speaker
On Monday, March 1, Joanner Brown, Assist
Dean of the Chapel and Lecturer at STH Wi
be the guest speaker. Our menu will incl
homemade vegetarian vegetable soup and sa
wiches. Please join us for food and disc
all for just \$1.00.

WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE:

NEXT MEETING WILL BE ON:

THURSDAY, MARCH 4th

5:15 to 6:30 p.m.

ANNA HOWARD SHAW CENTER

Agenda--Songs & Singing;
please bring related items.

Business; Workshop
and Retreat Upcoming, other
items please bring with you.

Discussion; Learning,
creating and maintaining our
priorities--what are the ten
sions involved and where are
our supports?

ALL WOMEN OF BUSTH INVITED!!

Dinner for those interested
following the 6:30 time.

"LUNCH IS THE EXCUSE"

Bring your lunch up to the Shaw
Center on Tuesdays at noon and
join the women of STH for lunch
and informal conversation!

RECITAL AT OLD WEST
Linda Clark, organ
Gretchen McBride, soprano
Saturday, February 27
12:15-12:45

It is a strange thing to me that even though the Coalition for Constructive Change is made up of STH students, we are often regarded as outside agitators and a "radical fringe". Part of the reason why I am working with the CCC springs from my conviction that in this group I work for solutions to problems already at this school, rather than creating new ones. What follows is a personal testimony of why I am involved in the CCC and what I understand as my purpose in that group.

I started in what was the beginning of the Coalition for Constructive Change in the summer, a couple of days after Nancy Richardson was fired by Dean Nesmith. My primary motivation for seeking out other people at this time was shock and anger, and more importantly my desire to do something about what I think was a strange and unjust action by the dean and/or the administration of this school. This first group of students, alumni, faculty and staff was formed for this initial purpose. Since that time, the group has changed considerably. We are now working for wider goals with a new name and many new faces. Lately I look at the direction which our group has taken, our demands and deadlines presented to Dean Nesmith, and I wonder if we are fulfilling my original purpose. Nancy Richardson has not been rehired and Dean Nesmith has been allowed, despite our constant and persistent reminders, to forget his summer offence. For all practical purposes he has gone on the "business as usual" and we have been obliged to as well. I am no longer working with the CCC because I think we can somehow correct the damage that was done this summer, this seems to be in the hands of Nancy Richardson and her lawyer and out of our immediate control. I will continue to work with the CCC because we are a group of people working for change in the right direction. I think our group's persistent attention to Affirmative Action, the grievance procedure, and search and hiring procedure are positive forces in the school. For me the issue of this summer will never be adequately answered until Nancy's case is decided in court. I can't make that happen, but with the Coalition I am working to make sure incidents like this do not continue to happen at STH. I think we could all lend our support to that goal.

Rebecca Smith

THE EMBODIMENT OF JUSTICE

JUSTICE. It is never a neutral term, but one which elevates the potential of human life and calls for commitment. The word itself conveys strength and power to me as it touches the poetic, breaks through the sentimental, and overcomes the academic in my life to confront me at my very soul. Justice rests in the authority of God which will not be compromised. The strength of the word is reflected as the unity of God's purpose and its power lies in drawing essential human values into this unity. I find that I cannot live without the term justice because to live in harmony with God's purpose, to be justified, is essential to my well being. Justice, then, has theological and anthropological dimensions. It is a theological claim rooted in the nature of God even as it implies human responsibility on both individual and corporate levels. To promote justice is to draw both the individual and the community into harmony with the will of God.

Harmony with the will of God, however, is not merely a matter of individual salvation; we do not exist in isolation. Human responsibility is relational. The harmony of an individual life promotes justice within the larger community just as the absence of justice in corporate life has profound influence on the psychic well being of individual souls. Injustice disrupts life and may even promote death in a community. Justice is no longer an abstract theological term for me because injustice is an ever present reality within the School of Theology.

Justice is a force creating blessing. Injustice robs individuals and communities of the joy of living that is the blessing of life. Harmony within a community grows from a common respect for justice. It is obvious to me that the force of injustice is still at work in the School of Theology. Living from day to day in the atmosphere of distrust, anger and brokenness is to experience a slow, lingering death. The presence of injustice is a wound that will not heal. It is a wound that all of us share.

I want justice! I do not accept the assessment of the situation here in the School of Theology as a "normal level of controversy." Nor will I give in to cynicism that precludes change and maintains life in STH at a minimal level of subsistence. I want fullness of life not merely survival for myself and for the school. It is justice which creates the possibility of life and growth. Justice implies judgment, a norm for responsible individual and community interaction. It points to repentance and calls us to bear witness to the power of resurrection. My prayer during this Lenten season is that our brokenness will be healed by the restoration of justice embodied in our individual and corporate witness.

Deborah E. Jeter, Editor

THE EMBODIMENT OF JUSTICE

JUSTICE. It is never a neutral term, but one which elevates the potential of human life and calls for commitment. The word itself conveys strength and power to me as it touches the poetic, dramatic through the sentimental, and evokes the noblest in my life to confront me at my very soul. Justice rests in the authority of God which will not be compromised. The strength of the word is reflected as the unity of God's purpose and the power lies in drawing attention to human values into this unity. I find that I cannot live without the term justice because to live in harmony with God's purpose, to be justified, is essential to my well being. Justice, then, has theological and anthropological dimensions. It is a theological claim rooted in the nature of God even as it implies human responsibility in social individuals and corporate levels. To promote justice is to grow both the individual and the community into harmony with the will of God.

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I want justice! I do not accept the assessment of the situation here in the School of Theology as a "normal level of controversy." But will I give in to cynicism that precludes change and maintains life in a minimal level of subsistence. I want fullness of life not merely survival for myself and for the school. It is justice which creates the possibility of life and growth. Justice implies judgment, a norm for responsible individual and community interaction. It points to repentance and calls us to bear witness to the power of resurrection. My prayer is that our presence in this fallen season is that our presence will be noted by the restoration of justice embodied in our individual and corporate witness.

Deborah K. Jeter, Editor

Metaphor. Definitions of simile, parable, metaphor.

Similes - St Paul is like...

Not esoteric, but _____.

Paul is the outsider looking in - but is

Remember. Mark is a disciple of Paul ^{Special} ~~St Paul~~ ^{St Paul}

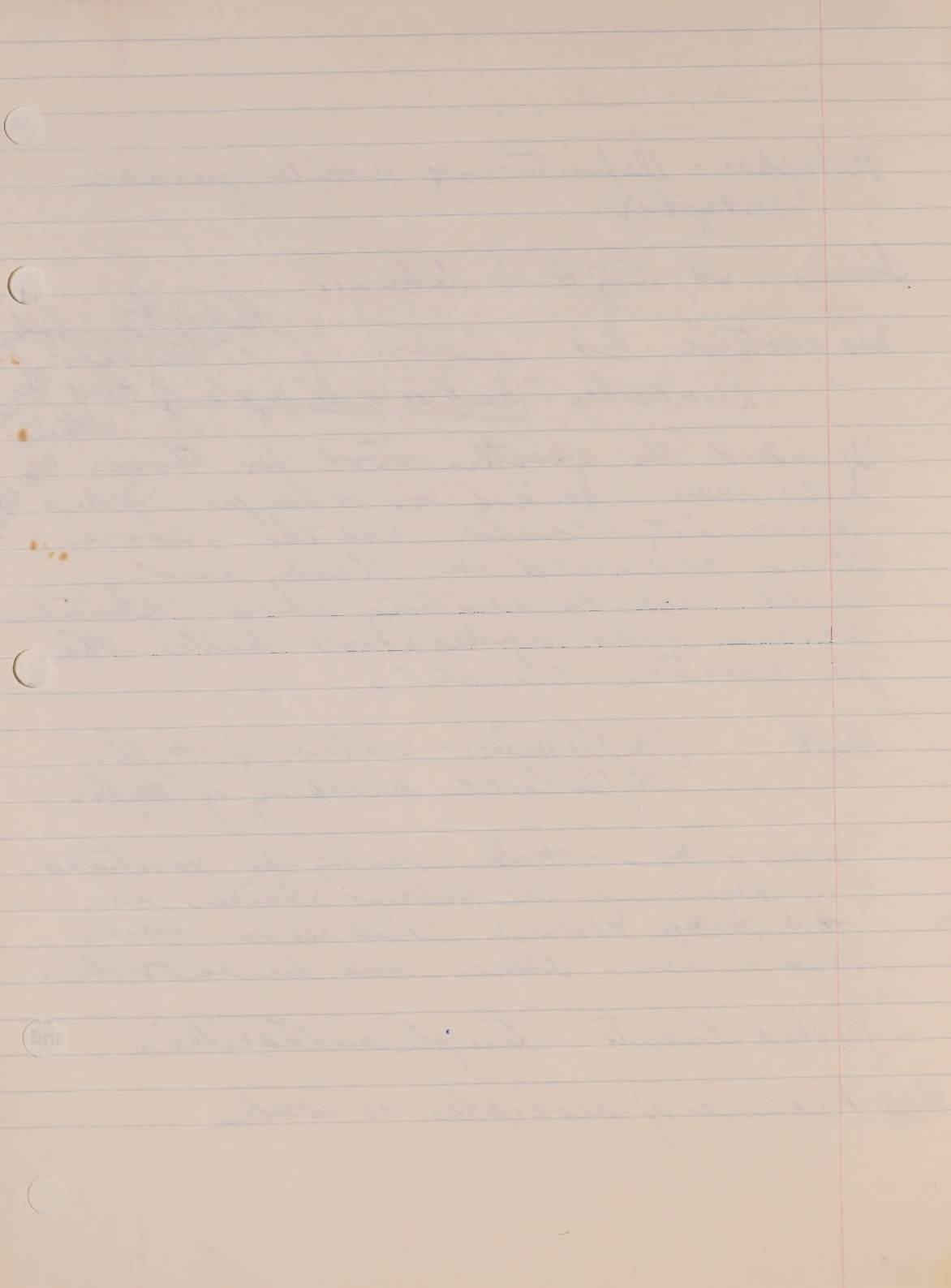
If indeed the apostles stood for those ^{revelation} who were against, for example, Phil's community could not the same thing occurred in Mark, and could Mark be writing about Gentile Christians who understood better than the apostolic church??

Myth. (mythopoeitic) - making of myths
mythoclastic breaking of myths

James & John & Peter vying for positions of power (i.e. the Hebrew Christians vs. the Gentile Christians) "Put us on your right & left - others will be outside."

Wicked tenants - temple authorities

Q128 Failure of disciples to walk



The medium is the message. Chosen to
transform the message.

Writing vs. oral medium

~~Gentile~~ vs. Jew (Paul is Roman citizen)

Outsider vs. insider

Greek woman, blind man far better

130
Roman Centurion.

New mine for fresh perspectives
P. 131

Paul against the Law (& those who
see the written law as the obiter dictum)
be all & end all while it may
only be the

Soteriology - deliverance, salvation
Soter/savior, soteria, sos (safe)

Behavioristic rather than academic.

Romans 7

p. 152 Hearing the Gospel vs the Law

↓
righteousness

↓
internalization

↓
circumcision

↓
externalization

p. 152

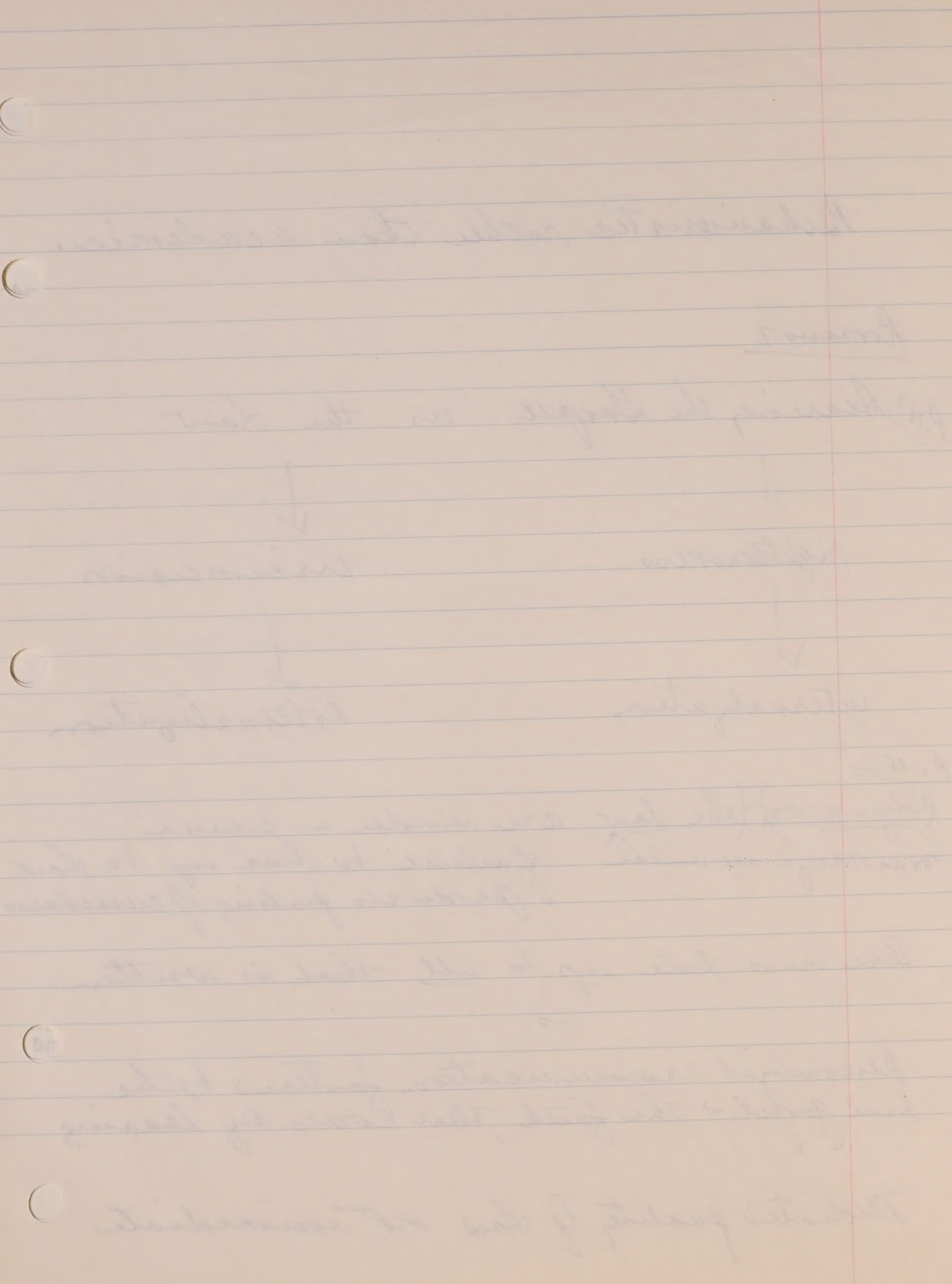
Relying on the law are under a curse
for as many as are under failure to line up to Law
produces feeling of cursedness.

One must line up to all that is written.

vs.

Personalized communication fostered by the
real gospel + the faith that comes by hearing

Mediated quality of Law not immediate



I Corinthians

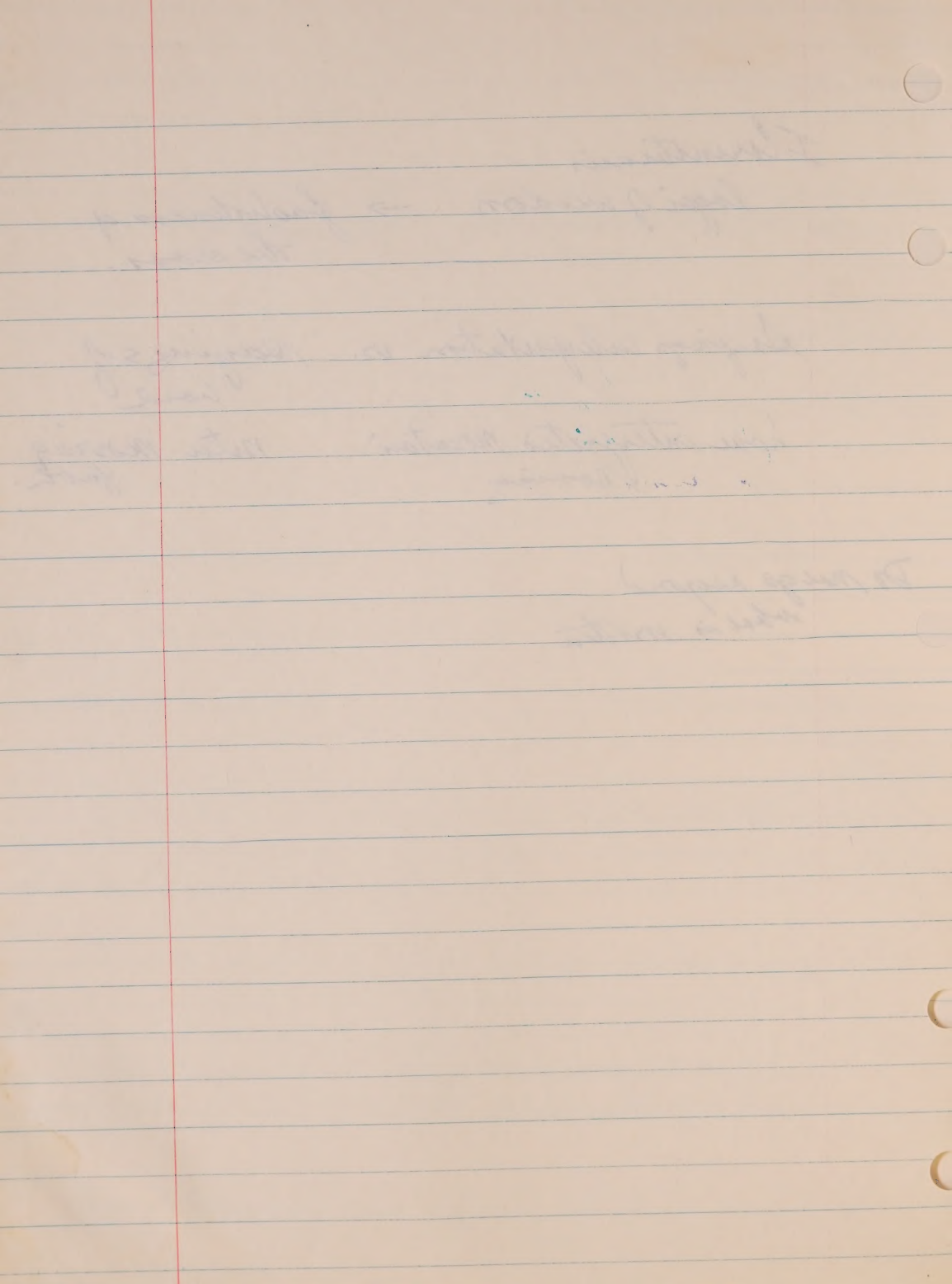
logic of wisdom → foolishness of
the cross.

Sayings interpretation vs. sayings of
word

how interpreted mountain
moving

mta. moving
fast.

Do not go beyond
what is written



apophthegm
paranesis
paranomasia

Project 10/10/10
Project 10/10/10
Project 10/10/10

First Corinthians - General Structure

1:1-17 Introduction

1:17-2:2 the folly of the cross *vs. Greek philosophy*

2:1-8 Paul's ministry

2:6-3:3 Knowledge and the Spirit

3:1-4:21 Paul's ministry, Apollos, ministry in general

4:16 "be imitators of me"

5:1-12 immorality

6:1-11 lawsuits

6:12-20 immorality

7:1-40 marriage

8:1-13 idol food

9:1-27 Paul's "legal" defense of himself

10:1-33 idol food

11:1 "be imitators of me"

11:2 "the traditions"

11:2-16 women praying and prophesying

11:17-34 the Eucharist, the body

12:1-31 the spiritual gifts, the body

13:1-13 love

14:1-40 the spiritual gifts, women

15:1-3 "the traditions"

15:1-58 the philosophy of the resurrection

16:1-24 closing

17 For not sent me Christ to baptize but to evangelize
not in wisdom of word in order that
not make futile the cross of Christ.

18 For the word of the cross to the hard perishing folly is
to the being saved to us Power of God is.

19 For it is written 'I will destroy the wisdom of the
wise and the cleverness of the clever I will thwart.'

20 Where a wise one? Where a scribe? Where a debator? } 3 items
of the age this?

Has not made foolish the God the wisdom of the
world this?

21 For since in the wisdom of the God
did not know the world
through the wisdom the God
it pleased the God through the folly of the
kerysma to save the believing;

22 since also Jews (signs) demand and Greeks
wisdom seek

23 and we preach Christ having been
crucified,
to Jews on the one hand a scandal and to
Gentiles folly,

24 and to those called
to Jews and to Greeks
Christ
of God power and of God wisdom,

25 because the folly of the God more wise
(than that) of men is and the weakness of
the God more strong (than that) of men.

26 For see your call, brothers, because
not many wise according to flesh,
not many powerful,
not many well-born;

27 But the foolish of the world chose the God
in order to shame the wise,
and the weak of the world chose the God
in order to shame the strong,

28 and the poor-born and the despised chose the God,
the not being

29 in order that the being might be made void,
that may not boast all flesh in the presence
of the God.

30 From him you are in Christ Jesus who became wisdom for you
from God,

righteousness and sanctification and redemption, } 3 items
31 as it is written 'The boaster in the Lord let him boast.'

2:1 I coming toward you brothers came
not according to lofty words of wisdom proclaiming to you the
mystery of the God.

2 For I did not judge anything to know in you
if not Jesus Christ and this one having been crucified.

6 Wisdom we speak in the mature wisdom
 not of the age this
 nor of the leaders of the age this, the ones beings
 made void,
 7 but we speak of God wisdom in mystery the hidden
 which decreed the God before the ages into glory ours
 8 which noone of the leaders of the age this knew for
 if they had known, not the Lord of the glory would
 they have crucified.

9 But as it is written: What eye has not seen and ear not heard
 and upon the heart of man not come up what has prepared the
 God for those who love him.

10 And to us revealed the God through the Spirit;
 for the Spirit (all) searches, even the depths of the God.

11 For who knows of men (the things of the man) except the
 spirit of the (man) the one in him. (The things of) the
 God noone knows except the Spirit of the God.

12 And we not the spirit of the world received but
the Spirit, the one from the God in order that we
might know the by the God havins been sracesifted
 to us;

13 and what we speak not in teachins of human wisdom
words but in teachins of Spirit by the spiritual
spiritual things explaining.

14 And psychic men not receives (the things of) the Spirit
 of the God. For folly to him they are and not
 powerful to know because they are spiritually Judged
 up.

15 And the spiritual Judges up the (all) and himself by noone
 is Judged up.

16 For who knows mind of Lord which instructs him?
And we mind of Christ have.

3:1 And I, brother, not am powerful to speak to you as to spirituals
 2 but as to the fleshly, as infants in Christ. Milk you I save to
 drink not solid food, for not yet you were powerful. But not yet
 3 now are you powerful, for still fleshly you are.

I Cor. 5:3-5

3 For I on the one hand beins absent in the body and beins present
in the spirit

already have Judged as beins present the one thus this doins

4 in the name of the Lord our Jesus

beins assembled you and the mine spirit

with the power of the Lord our Jesus

5 to hand over the such a one to Satan for destruction of the
flesh

in order that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

I Cor. 8: 1-4

1 Concernins the idol-offerings, we know that all knowledge have.

The knowledge puffs up, but the love builds up;

2 if anyone thinks he knows anything, not yet does he know
as he ought to know;

3 but if anyone loves the God, this one is known by him.

4 Concernins the food, then, of the idol-offerings, we know that ...
man

I Cor. 8: 1, 4-7

1 Concernins the idol-offerings, we know that all knowledge have.

4 Concernins the food, then of the idol-offerings, we know

that there is no idol in world and
that there is no God if not one.

no one

5 For if indeed there are so-called gods
whether in Heaven
whether on earth,

many

as indeed there are
gods many and
lords many,

6 but for us one God the Father

from whom the all and
us into him,

one

and one Lord Jesus Christ

through whom the all and
us through him.

7 But not in all the knowledge ...

body $\leftarrow$ X'tian's unresurrected body
Christ's risen body

I Cor. 6:13-20

13 "The food for the stomach and the stomach for the food"
and the God both the one and the other will destroy.
The body not for prostitution (immorality) for the body;
but for the Lord and the Lord

of Christ (Lord)
Church

14 And the God through the power of his,
both the Lord raised and us will raise

15 Not do you know that the body yours

personal

member of Christ is; a member?
of a prostitute
so, then, the member of the Christ shall I make
By no means.

16 Or not do you know that

the one Joining to the prostitute one body is?

Parthenia

intercourse

For "become," as it is written, "the two into one flesh."

Says flesh created
good

17 But the one Joining to the Lord one Spirit is.

18 Flee the immorality.

All sin which should do a man outside the body is;

Brings it into the
Temple.

See "into"
See against
(reciprocity)

but the one acting immorally into their own body
sins.

holiness characterizes
intimate relationship
(presence of H.S.)

19 Or not do you know that

the body yours
temple of the in you Holy Spirit is which you have from
God
and not you are of yourself?

For you were ransomed for a price;
glorify, thus, the God
in the body yours.

Christ has a risen body
body of Christ (Church)
Christians will have a risen body -

1 Coe. 7

Concerning the things about which you wrote:
"better for a man a woman not to touch"
but through the innocence
each the husband a woman let have
and each the man husband let have.
To the woman the husband the obligation give over;
likewise the woman to the husband.
The woman of the man body not has authority but the
husband;
likewise the husband the man body not has authority
but the woman.

Not refuse each other:
except rather out of agreement toward a time
in order that you have trouble yourself to the prayer
and again on the same day let you be
in order not least you the listen
through the eyes of your natural yours.

"Better for a man
not to touch a woman"

34 If anyone act shamefully on the virgin his things
if he saw he was indignified
and thus indignified to her eyes
what he would not do
But now he will
let them marry.

37 Who stands in the heart his form
not having negative
authority to act concerning the own will
and thus acted in the conscience
to love the his own virgin
will he does.

38 So that also the warring the his own virgin will he does and
the not warring but love.

39 Women bound on whatever line leave the husband heret
if hires the husband
Free she is
to whom she will
to serve
only in Lord.

40 Neither she is
if thus she reason
according to the as reason
I return I love of God
there

6 This I saw
according to concession;
not according to command.

7 I will
all men to be as also myself
But each one has charge from God:
One on the one hand (Jesus)
One on the other hand (thus).

8 I saw to the unwearied and
to the widows
better far than if they remain as if
9 but if not they exercise self-control
let them serve.
Far better it is
to serve than
to burn.

10 To the married I give charge:
not if:
but the Lord:
a union; from husband not should separate:
if; however: the does separate:
let her remain unmarried:
or to the husband: let her be reconciled:
and husband women not should divorce.

12 To the rest I save
Is not the large
if any brother woman has unbelieving
and this one is pleased to live with him
not let his divorce her
13 and a woman if any has husband unbelieving
and this one is pleased to live with her
only let her divorce the husband.

14 It made holy for the husband the unbelievers in the women and
it made holy the women the unbelievers in the brother
since otherwise the children yours unclean are
now holy they are.

15 If the unbelieving will separate
let him separate.

Paul says

What The Lord Says

25b

29 This I say, brothers:
the line very short is
the rest
in order that also the having women
as not having being
30 and the mourning
as not mourning
and the rejecting
as not rejecting
and the burying
as not burying
31 and the dealing with the world
as not dealing with
for passing away the scheme of the world this.

32 I will you
33 free of anxiety to be.
34
The unwarrior is anxious for the (riches) of the Lord;
35 how he saw please the Lord;
36 The warrior is anxious for the (riches) of the world;
how he saw please the warrior;
and he is divided and
the woman the unwarrior and the virgin is anxious for the
(riches) of the Lord
In water that she saw be holy
both in the sea
and in the spring
and the warrior water is anxious for the (riches) of the world;
how she saw please the husband.

This toward the your own benefit I urge not
in order restraint for you I should know
on but toward the execution of said order and
undivided devotion to the Lord securing.

25 Concerning the virgin
 command of Lord not I have
opinion I give
 as being found under Lord
 faithful to be.

26 I think then: this better existing
through the being (present) distress
that better for a man the true to be.

27

Are you being to a woman?
Not let you seek to be loose.
Are you lashed for a woman?
Not let you seek a woman.

78 If you marry:
not do you sin
and if marries the virgin
not does she sin.

walk as you were called

Not enslave the brother or the sister
in the such a case!
But in peace called you the God.
For what do you know women:
if the husband you will save?
or what do you know, husband:
if the woman you will save?
If not only
[teach] as did-on the Lord:
[teach] called the God.
Thus let work
But in the church all I command.

21 Slave were you called?
Not for you let you mind
but if one you are able free to become
rather not use.

22 For the In Lord being called slave freemen of Lord is
likewise the freemen he called slave is of Christ.

22 For a price you were redeemed. . .
not let you become slaves of men.

20 [Each] in that which he was called, brothers
in this let him remain before God.

10 Having been circumcised driver who has been called
Not let his mind the circumstances
10 where decision has been called driver
not let his be circumcised

19 The circumcision nothing is
and the uncircumcision nothing is
but boasting of observance of Jew.

26 Each in the cell in which he was called
in this let his roots

unbelievers
to make holy

25 Concerning the virgins
command of Lord not I have;
opinion I give
as being found under Lord
faithful to be.

26 I think, then, this better existing
through the being (present) distress
that better for a man the thus to be.

27 Are you bound to a woman?
Not let you seek to be loose.
Are you loosened from a woman?
Not let you seek a woman.

28 If you marry;
not do you sin
and if marries the virgin;
not does she sin.

Tribulation for the flesh they will
have the such ones I of you would
spare.

29 This I say, brothers,
the time very short is;
the rest

in order that also the having women
as not having being
30 and the mourning
as not mourning
and the rejoicing
as not rejoicing
and the buyers
as not owning

31 and the dealers with the world
as not dealing with;

for passing away the schema of the world this.

32 I will you
free of anxiety to be.

The unmarried is anxious for the (things) of the Lord;
how he may please the Lord;
33 the married is anxious for the (things) of the world;
how he may please the woman;
34 and he is divided and

the woman the unmarried and the virgin is anxious for the
(things) of the Lord
in order that she may be holy
both in the body
and in the spirit;
the married woman is anxious for the (things) of the
world;
how she may please the husband.

35 This toward the your own benefit I say; not
in order restraint for you I should throw on
on but toward the promotion of good order and
undivided devotion to the Lord securing.

36 If anyone to act shamefully on the virgin his thinks;
if he may be commissioned
and thus it ought to become;
what he wills let him do.
Not does he sin;
let them marry.

37 Who stands in the heart his firm
not having necessity;
authority he has concerning the own will
and this judges in the own heart
to keep the his own virgin;
well he does.

38 So that also the marrying the his own virgin well he does and
the not marryings better he does.

39 Woman bound on whatever time lives the husband hers;
if slices the husband;
free she is
to who she wills
to marry;
only in Lord.

40 Happier she is
if thus she remain
according to the opinion
I esteem I Spirit of God to
have.

I Cor. 7

1 Concerning the things about which you wrote,
"better for a man a woman not to touch;"
2 but through the immorality

each the himself a woman let have,
and each the own husband let have.

3 To the woman the husband the obligation give away,
likewise the woman to the husband.

4 The woman of the own body not has authority but the
husband,
likewise the husband the own body not has authority
but the woman.

5 Not refuse each other,
except perhaps out of agreement toward a time
in order that you may devote yourself to the prayer
and again on the same let you be
in order not tempt you the Satan
through the lack of self control yours.

6 This I say
according to concession,
not according to command.

7 I will
all men to be as also myself;
but each own has charism from God,
the on the one hand thus,
the on the other hand thus.

8 I say to the unmarried and
to the widows
better for them if they remain as I;
9 but if not they exercise self-control,
let them marry.
For better it is
to marry than
to burn.

- 10 To the married I give charge,
not I,
but the Lord,
a woman from husband not should separate.
- 11 If, however, she does separate,
let her remain unmarried
or to the husband let her be reconciled;
and husband woman not should divorce.
- 12 To the rest I say,
I,
not the Lord,
if any brother woman has unbelieving
and this one is pleased to live with him
not let him divorce her
- 13 and a woman, if any has husband unbelieving
and this one is pleased to live with her,
not let her divorce the husband.
- 14 Is made holy for the husband the unbelieving in the woman and
is made holy the woman the unbelieving in the brother;
since otherwise the children yours unclean are;
now holy they are.
- 15 If the unbelieving will separate
let him separate.
Not enslaved the brother or the sister
in the such a case;
but in peace called you the God.
- 16 For what do you know, woman,
if the husband you will save;
or what do you know, husband,
if the woman you will save?
- 17 If not only
to each as divided the Lord,
each as called the God,
thus let walk
and thus in the church all I command.

- 15 If the unbelieving will separate
let him separate.
Not enslaved the brother or the sister
in the such a case;
but in peace called you the God.
- 16 For what do you know, woman,
if the husband you will save;
or what do you know, husband,
if the woman you will save?
- 17 If not only
to each as divided the Lord,
each as called the God,
thus let walk
and thus in the church all I command.
- 18 Having been circumcised anyone who had been called?
Not let him undo the circumcision;
in uncircumcision had been called anyone,
not let him be circumcised.
- 19 The circumcision nothing is
and the uncircumcision nothing is
but keeping of commandments of God.
- 20 Each in the call in which he was called
in this let him remain.
- 21 Slave were you called?
Not for you let you mind
but if also you are able free to become
rather make use.
- 22 For the in Lord being called slave freeman of Lord is,
likewise the freeman he called slave is of Christ.
- 23 For a price you were redeemed,
not let you become slaves of men.
- 24 Each in that which he was called, brothers,
in this let him remain before God.

25 Concerning the virgins
command of Lord not I have,
opinion I give
as beings found under Lord
faithful to be.

26 I think, then, this better existing
through the beings (present) distress
that better for a man the thus to be.

27 Are you bound to a woman?
Not let you seek to be loose.
Are you loosened from a woman?
Not let you seek a woman.

28 If you marry,
not do you sin
and if marries the virgin,
not does she sin.

Tribulation for the flesh they will
have the such ones I of you would
spare.

29 This I say, brothers,
the time very short is;
the rest
in order that also the having women
as not having beings
30 and the mourning
as not mourning
and the rejoicing
as not rejoicing
and the buyers
as not owning
31 and the dealers with the world
as not dealing with,

for passing away the schema of the world this.

32 I will you
free of anxiety to be.

The unmarried is anxious for the (things) of the Lord,
how he may please the Lord;
33 the married is anxious for the (things) of the world,
how he may please the woman,
34 and he is divided and

the woman the unmarried and the virgin is anxious for the
(things) of the Lord
in order that she may be holy
both in the body
and in the spirit;
the married woman is anxious for the (things) of the
world,
how she may please the husband.

35 This toward the your own benefit I say, not
in order restraint for you I should throw on
on but toward the promotion of good order and
undivided devotion to the Lord securing.

36 If anyone to act shamefully on the virgin his thinks,
if he may be impassioned
and thus it ought to become,
what he wills let him do,
Not does he sin,
let them marry.

37 Who stands in the heart his firm
not having necessity,
authority he has concerning the own will
and this Judges in the own heart
to keep the his own virgin,
well he does.

38 So that also the marrying the his own virgin well he does and
the not marrying better he does.

39 Woman bound on whatever time lives the husband hers;
if sleeps the husband,
free she is
to who she wills
to marry,
only in Lord.

40 Happier she is
if thus she remain
according to the my opinion
I esteem I Spirit of God to
have.

I Cor. 11:2-16

2 I commend you that in every way me you keep in mind and, as I
gave to you, the traditions you hold fast.

3 I will you to know that
of all men the head the Christ is,
and head of a woman the man,
and head of the Christ the God.

4 All men praying or prophesying down on head havins
shames the head his.

5 And all women praying or prophesying uncovered the head
shames the head hers;

6 for one it is and the same the beins shaven.
For if not covered a woman, also let be cut off;
and if disgraceful for a woman the to be cut off
and to be shaven let her be covered.
7 For men on the one hand not ousht to be covered
the head image and glory of God beins; the woman
however glory of man is.

8 For not is man from woman but woman from man and for not
9 created man through the woman but woman thorough the man.
10 Through this ousht the woman power to have on the head
11 through the angels. Nevertheless neither a woman without a
12 man or a man without a woman in Lord; for Just as the woman
from the man so also the man though the woman and the all
from the God.

13 In you yourself Judge; fittins is it a woman uncovered to
the God to pray;

14 Does not the nature itself teach you that a man on
the one hand if he hairs disgraceful to him is,
15 and a woman if she hairs glory to her is because the
hair in place of a cloak is given to her.

16 And if anyone thinks argumentative to be, we such a custom not
have and not the churches of the God.

Issue may be adornment
Compartment of sex identity

No male nor female
Every woman who makes
herself male will enter
the kingdom of heaven!

I Cor. 11:2-16

2 I commend you that in every way me you keep in mind and, as I
gave to you, the traditions you hold fast.

3 I will you to know that
of all ^{man} ~~men~~ the head the Christ is,
and head of a woman the man,
and head of the Christ the God.

origins
derivations

4 All men praying or prophesying down on head having
5 shames the head his. And all women praying or
6 prophesying uncovered the head shames the head hers;
for one it is and the same the being shaven. For if
not covered a woman, also let be cut off; and if
disgraceful for a woman the to be cut off and to be
shaven let her be covered.

7 For men on the one hand not ought to be covered ^{men}
the head image and glory of God being; the woman ^{status}
however glory of man is.

8 For not is man from woman but woman from man
and for not created man through the woman but
woman through the man.

scripture

10 Through this ought the woman ^{EXODUSIA} power to have on the ^{derived from God}
head through the angels. ^{women status}

11 Nevertheless neither a woman without a man or
12 a man without a woman in Lord; for just as
the woman from the man so also the man through
the woman and the all from the God.

not head of

ultimate source

scripture

13 In you yourself Judge; fitting is it a woman
uncovered to the God to pray?

14 Does not the nature itself teach you that

15 a man on the one hand if he hair disgraceful to him is,
and a woman if she hair glory to her is
because the hair in place of a cloak is given to her.

women

mantle

16 And if anyone thinks argumentative to be, we such a custom not
have and not the churches of the God.

God
man

woman
glory

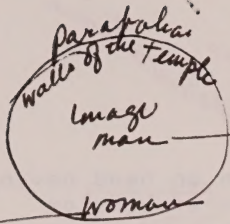
glory

[God
Christ]
[man
woman]

ETC 16
- temple
- walls

Church is glory of Paul

Male - Female relationships
status
worship
authority on the head
the cloak (mantle)



Genesis
1st

no the hood

Grounds the man's status in worshipping community

But -

woman is the wall around the temple



4 Varieties of gracesifts there are, and the same Spirit; and
5 varieties of services there are, and the same Lord; and
6 varieties of inworkings there are, and the same God,

the one inworking the all in all.

7 To each is given a manifestation of the Spirit toward the
8 common good. For to one through the Spirit is given a word
9 of wisdom, to another a word of knowledge according to the
10 same Spirit, to another faith in the same Spirit, and to
11 another gracesifts of healing in the one Spirit, and to
12 another inworkings of power, and to another prophesy, and
13 to another discernment of spirits, to another kinds of
14 tongues and to another interpretation of tongues;

15 and all of these inword the one and the same Spirit variously to
16 each as he wishes.

17 For Just as the body one is and many members has and all the
18 members of the body many beins one is body, so also the
19 Christ; for in one Spirit we all into one body have been
20 baptized whether Jews, whether Greeks, whether slaves, whether
21 free and all one Spirit we have been given to drink.

22 And for the body not is one member but many.

23 -If says the foot; that not I am a hand, not I am of
24 the body, not from this not is of the body?

25 -And if says the ear; that not I am an eye, not I am
26 of the body, not from this not is of the body?

27 If wholly the body an eye, where the hearings?

28 If wholly hearings, where the smellings?

29 Now the God placed the members one each of them in the body as he
30 willed.

31 If were the all one member, where the body?

32 Now many on the one hand members and on the other one body.

33 - Not powerful the eyes to say to the hand, need of you
34 not I have;

35 - or addin the head to the feet, need of you not I have;
36 but much rather the reputed members-of-the-body-
37 more-weak-to-beings necessary is,

38 and what we repute more dishonorable to be of the
39 body to this honor more abundantly we put around

40 and the unrepresentables ours presentability more
41 abundantly have

42 and the representables ours no need have.

43 But the God composed the body

44 to the beins without more abundantly divins honor,

45 in order that not there may be schism in the body but the same
46 on behalf of each other may have concern the members. And
47 whether suffers one member, suffer with all the members;
48 whether glorified one member, rejoice with all the members.
49 You are body of Christ and members in part.

50 And some on the one hand placed the God in the church
51 first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then
52 powers, then gracesifts of healing, helpers,
53 administrators, kinds of tongues.

54 Not all apostles? Not all prophets? Not all teachers?

55 Not all powers? Not all gracesifts having of healing? N

56 Not all tongues speak? Not all interpret?

I Cor. 12:12-13

12 For Just as the body

one is and

members many has

all the members of the body many beings

one is

body,

so also the Christ;

13 for in one Spirit

we all into one body have been baptized,

whether Jews, whether Greeks,

whether slaves, whether free

and all

one Spirit we have been given to drink.

I Cor. 12: 14, 20

14 And for the body

not is one

member

but many.

20

Now many on the one hand
members

but one

body.

The Gifts in I Cor. 12

vv. 8-12 9 items: doublet, doublet, triplet, doublet

v. 28 8 items: triplet, doublet, triplet

v. 29 7 items: triplet, doublet, doublet (by comparison with
v. 28)

15 Now I would remind you, brethren, in what terms I preach to you the gospel, which you received; in which you stand, 2 by which you are saved, if you hold it fast unless you believed in vain.

I 3 For I delivered to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,⁴ that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures,

II that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve.⁵ Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep.⁷ Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles.⁸ Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me.

III 9 For I am the apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.¹⁰ But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace toward me was not in vain. On the contrary, I worked harder than any of them, though it was not I, but the grace of God which is with me.¹¹ Whether then it was I or they, so we preach and so you believed.

LOGIC

II

PHYSICS

III

ETHICS

I 12 Now if Christ is preached as raised from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead? ¹³ But if there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised; ¹⁴ if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain. ¹⁵ We are even found to be misrepresenting God, because we testified of God that he raised Christ, whom he did not raise if it is true that the dead are not raised. ¹⁶ For if the dead are not raised, then Christ has not been raised. ¹⁷ If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins. ¹⁸ Then those also who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished. ¹⁹ If for this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most to be pitied.

II 20 But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep. ²¹ For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. ²² For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. ²³ But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ. ²⁴ Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power. ²⁵ For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. ²⁶ The last enemy to be destroyed is death. ²⁷ "For God" has put all things in subjection under his feet." But when it says, "All things are put in subjection under him," it is plain that he is excepted who put all things under him. ²⁸ When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to him who put all things under him; that God may be everything to every one.

III 29 Otherwise, what do people mean by being baptized on behalf of the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why are people baptized on their behalf? ³⁰ Why am I in peril every hour? ³¹ I protest, brethren, by my pride in you which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die every day! ³² What do I gain if, humanly speaking, I fought with beasts at Ephesus? If the dead are not raised, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." ³³ Do not be deceived: "Bad company ruins good morals." ³⁴ Come to your right mind, and sin no more. For some have no knowledge of God. I say this to your shame.

I

35 But some one will ask, "How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come?" ³⁶ You foolish man! What you sow does not come to life unless it dies. ³⁷ And what you sow is not the body which is to be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or of some other grain. ³⁸ But God gives it a body as he has chosen, and to each kind of seed its own body. ³⁹ For not all flesh is alike, but there is one kind for men, another for animals, another for birds, and another for fish. ⁴⁰ There are celestial bodies and there are terrestrial bodies; but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. ⁴¹ There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for star differs from star in glory.

II

42 So is it with the resurrection of the dead. What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable. ⁴³ It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. ⁴⁴ It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a physical body, there is also a spiritual body. ⁴⁵ Thus it is written, "The first man Adam became a living being"; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit. ⁴⁶ But it is not the spiritual which is first but the physical, and then the spiritual. ⁴⁷ The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven. ⁴⁸ As was the man of dust, so are those who are of the dust; and as is the man of heaven, so are those who are of heaven. ⁴⁹ Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven.

III

50 I tell you this, brethren: flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable.

51 Lo! I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, ⁵² in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed. ⁵³ For this perishable nature must put on the imperishable, and this mortal nature must put on immortality. ⁵⁴ When the perishable puts on the imperishable, and the mortal puts on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written:

"Death is swallowed up in victory."
⁵⁵ "O death, where is thy victory?"
O death, where is thy sting?"
⁵⁶ The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law. ⁵⁷ But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

58 Therefore, my beloved brethren, be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that in the Lord your labour is not in vain.

Christian Philosophy

I Cor. 15:12-34

12 Now if Christ is preached that from dead he is raised, how can say in you some that resurrection of dead not there is?

13 But if resurrection of dead not there is, then not Christ has been raised; if
14 Christ not has been raised, vain then the preaching ours, and vain the faith yours.

15 Focus on Paul We are found even to be misrepresenting the God, because we testified of God that he raised the Christ, whom not did he raise if indeed then dead not are raised.

16 For if dead not are raised, then not Christ has been raised. If Christ not has been raised, futile the faith yours, still you are in the sins yours.

18 Then also those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in the life this in Christ hoping we have only, most to be pitied of all men we are.

Logic

34b

For no knowledge of God some have.
Toward shame for you I speak.
== == == == ==

33

34

If dead not are raised, 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.' Do not be deceived! 'Bad company ruins good morals.' Come to reason rightly and do not sin.

30

31

32

Ethics

Why I am in peril all hours? Each day I die, I protest, by the my boast in you, brothers, which I have in Christ Jesus the Lord ours. If according to men, I fought with beasts in Ephesus what to me the gain?

focus on Paul

If wholly dead not are raised, why the ones being baptized on the behalf of them?

29

Otherwise, what do they do the ones being baptized on behalf of the dead?

Physics

20 Now Christ has been raised from dead, first fruits of the ones who have fallen asleep. For as through a man death, also through a man the resurrection of dead.



22 For as indeed in the Adam all die, so also in the Christ all shall be made alive.

23 But each in the own order: first fruits Christ, then the ones of the Christ in the parousia his;

24 Then the end, when he delivers the kingdom to the God and Father, when he destroys all rule and all authority and power.



28

When subordinated to him the all, then himself the Son will be subordinated to the one subordinating to him the all, that may be the God the all in all.



27

'For all he has subordinated under the feet his.' But when it says, 'All have been subordinated,' it is plain that excepted the one subordinating to him the all.

25

For it is necessary for him to reign until 'he has put all the enemies under the feet his.' The last enemy to be destroyed is death.

I Cor. 15:20-28

- 20 Now Christ has been raised from dead, first fruits of the ones who have fallen asleep.
- 21 For as through a man death, also through a man the resurrection of dead.
- 22 For as indeed in the Adam all die, so also in the Christ all shall be made alive.
- 23 But each in the own order: first fruits Christ, then the ones of the Christ in the Parousia his;
- 24 Then the end,
when he delivers the kingdom to ~~the God~~ and Father,
when he destroys all rule and all authority and power.
25 For it is necessary for him to reign until
"he has put all the enemies under the feet his."
26 Last enemy to be destroyed is death.
27 "For all he has subordinated under the feet his."
But when it says, "All have been subordinated," it is plain that excepted the one subordering to him the all.
28 When subordinated to him the all, then himself the Son will be subordinated to the one subordering to him the all, that may be the God the all in all.

35 But will ask some one, "How are raised the dead? With what kind of body do they come?"

36 You foolish man! What you sow does not come to life unless it dies.

37 And what you sow is not the body, which is becoming you sow but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or of some other grain.

38 But the God gives it a body as he has chosen, and to each of the seeds its own body.

39 Not all flesh the same flesh,

but there is another of men, another flesh of animals, another flesh of birds, and another of fish.

40 Are bodies of heavenly regions, and bodies of earthly regions;

but different on the one hand that of the heavenly glory, and different that of the earthly.

41 Another is glory of sun, and another glory of moon, and another glory of stars;

for star from star differs in glory.

42 So also the resurrection of the dead. What is sown in perishability, what is raised in imperishability.

43 It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory.

It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power.

44 It is sown a body psychic, it is raised a body spiritual.

If there is a body psychic, there is also a spiritual.

45 Thus it is written, "Became the first man Adam into a psyche living"; the last Adam into a spirit life-giving.

46 But it is not first the spiritual but the psychic, then the spiritual.

47 The first man was from the earth, of dust; the second man is from heaven.

48 As was the one of dust, so also are those who are of dust; and as is the one of heaven, so also those who are of heaven.

49 Just as we have borne the image of the one of dust, we shall also bear the image of the one of heaven.

50 This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood kingdom of God inherit not able, nor does the perishable the imperishable inherit.

51 Lo! a mystery to you I say; all not shall sleep, but all shall be changed, in a moment, in a twinkling of an eye, in the last trumpet.

For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed.

53 For the perishable this must put on imperishability, and the mortal this must put on immortality. When the perishable this puts on imperishability, and the mortal this puts on immortality,

then shall come to pass the saying that is written: "Swallowed up the death into victory."

55 "Where of your Death, is the victory?"

Where of your Death, is the sting?"

56 The sting of the death the sin;

and the power of the sin the law.

57 But to the God grace the one who gives us the victory through the Lord ours Jesus Christ.

linkage structure
AB
BC
CD
DE
A

- 1 Paul
and
Sosthenes
the brother
- 2 to the church of the God
being made holy in Christ Jesus
to the (one) being in Corinth
called holy
with
all the (ones) calling upon the name of the Lord ours
Jesus Christ in every place
theirs and ours;
- 3 Grace to you and peace
from God our Father and Lord Jesus Christ.
- 4 I give thanks to the God of mine
always concerning you on the grace of the God
given to you in Christ Jesus,
- 5 because in every way you are enriched in him
in every word and every knowledge,
- 6 as the witness of the Christ was confirmed
7 in you so that you not lacking in any
gracesift waiting for the revelation of
the Lord ours Jesus Christ;
8 who also confirms you until end blameless
9 in the day of the Lord ours Jesus Christ.
Faithful the God through whom you were
called into community of the Son his Jesus
10 Christ the Lord ours. I encourage you,
brothers, through the name of the Lord
ours Jesus Christ,
- in order that the same thing you say all and
not be in you schisms that being joined in the
same mind and in the same opinion.
- 11 For it has been reported to me concerning you by
the of Chloe that quarrels in you are. I say this
12 that each of you says I on the one hand of Paul, I
of Apollos, I of Cephas, I of Christ. Is divided
13 the Christ? Was Paul crucified on behalf of you
or into the name of Paul were you baptized?
- 14 I give thanks to the God
that noone of you did I baptize
except Crispen and Gaios,
15 in order that not anyone may say that into the
mine name you were baptized.
- 16 I did baptize also the Stephan household,
the rest not do I know if any other I baptized.
- 17 For not sent me Christ to baptize but to preach not in wisdom
of word in order that not make futile the cross of Christ.

I Cor. 1:1-2

- 1 Paul called apostle
of Christ Jesus
through will of God (and Sosthenes the brother) *cf. I Thess. 4:3*
- 2 to the church of the God being made holy
in Christ Jesus
to the one being in Corinth called holy (with all ...)

I Cor. 1:1-3

- 1 Paul called apostle of Christ Jesus through will of God and
Sosthenes the brother
- 2 to the church of the God, being made holy in Christ Jesus, to
the one being in Corinth called holy
- with all the ones calling upon the name of the Lord ours
Jesus Christ in every place, theirs and ours.
- 3 Grace to you and peace from God our Father and Lord Jesus Christ.

I Cor. 1:10-13

- 10 I encourage you, brothers, that the name of the Lord ours Jesus
Christ in order that
- the same thing you say all
and not be in you schisms that being joined
in the same mind
and in the same opinion. } 4 items
- 11 For it has been reported to me concerning you
by the ones of Chloe that quarrells in you are.
- 12 I say this that each of you says
I on the one hand am of Paul,
I of Apollos,
I of Cephas,
I of Christ. } 4 items
- 13 Is divided the Christ? Paul crucified on behalf of you? Or into
the name of Paul you were baptized?

I Cor. 1:2b-10

- 2b with all the ones calling upon the name of Lord ours Jesus Christ
3 in every place, theirs and ours. Grace to you and peace from God
our father and Lord Jesus Christ. (4-5 I give thanks...) ^{mm}
6 as the witness of the Christ was confirmed in you so that you
7 not lacking in any gift waiting for the revelation of
the Lord ours Jesus Christ,
8 who also confirms you until end blameless in the day of the
Lord ours Jesus Christ.
9 Faithful the God through whom you were called into community of
the son his Jesus Christ the Lord ours. I encourage you, 10
brothers, through the name of the Lord ours Jesus Christ..

I Cor. 1:2b-10

- 2 with all the ones calling upon the name of Lord ours Jesus Christ
3 in every place theirs and ours. Grace to you and peace from God
our father and Lord Jesus Christ.
4 I give thanks to the God of mine always concerning you on the
grace of the God (given to you) in Christ Jesus,
5 because in every way you are enriched in him in every
6 word and every knowledge as the witness of the Christ was
7 confirmed in you so that you not lacking in any grace gift
waiting for the revelation of the Lord ours Jesus Christ,
8 who also confirmed you until end blameless in the day of the
Lord ours Jesus Christ.
9 Faithful the God through whom you were called into community of
the son his Jesus Christ the Lord ours. I encourage you, 10
brothers, through the name of the Lord ours Jesus Christ

I Cor. 1:17-24

- 17 For not sent me Christ to baptize but to preach not in wisdom of word in order that not make futile the cross of Christ.
- 18 For the word of the cross to the one on the one hand perishing folly is and to the beings saved to us power of God is.
- 19 For it is written "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and the cleverness of the clever I will thwart." Where a wise one? Where a scribe? Where a debator of the age this? Has not made foolish the God the wisdom of the world? For since in the wisdom of the God did not know the world through the wisdom the God,
- it pleased the God through the folly of the kerysma to save the believing;
- 22 Since also Jews signs demand and Greeks wisdom seek and we preach
- 23 Christ having been crucified, to the Jews a scandal and to
- 24 Gentiles folly and to those called, to Jews and to Greeks Christ, of God power and of God wisdom.

I Cor. 1:22-2:2

- 22 Since also Jews signs demand and Greeks wisdom seek
- 23 and we preach Christ having been crucified, to the Jews a scandal
- 24 and to Gentiles folly and to those called, to Jews and to Greeks, Christ, of God power and of God wisdom.
- 25 Because the folly of the God more wise than that of men is and the weakness of the God more strong than that of men.
- 26 For see your call brothers that
- 3 items | not many wise according to the flesh,
not many powerful,
not many well-born.
- 27 But the foolish of the world chose the God in order to shame the wise,
- 3 items | and the weak of the world chose the God in order to shame the strong,
- 28 and the poor born and the nothing chose the God, the not beings in order that the beings might be made void, that may not boast all flesh in the presence of the God.
- 30 From him you are in Christ Jesus who became wisdom for you from God, righteousness and sanctification and redemption.
- 31 As it is written "the boaster in the Lord let him boast."
- 2:1 I coming toward you brothers came not according to lofty words or wisdom proclaiming to you the mystery of the God.
- 2 For I did not judge anything to know in you except Jesus Christ and this one having been crucified.

I Cor. 2:1-8

- 1 + I coming toward you brothers came
 - not according to lofty words or wisdom
 & proclaiming to you the mystery of the God, human wisdom.
- 2 - I did not judge anything to know in you
 & except Jesus Christ and this one crucified,
- 3 + I in weakness and in fear and in much trepidation
 became toward you
 4 (+) and my word and my kerysma
 - not in plausible words of wisdom
 & but in demonstration of spirit and power,
 5 (+) in order that your faith
 - not may be in wisdom of men
 & but in power of God.
- 6 + Wisdom we speak in the mature and wisdom God's Wisdom
 - not of the age this nor of the leaders of the age this,
 & the ones being made void,
 7 + but we speak of God's wisdom in mystery the hidden,
 & which decreed the God before the ages into glory ours,
 8 - which none of the leaders of the age knew,
 & for if they had known not the Lord of the glory would
they have crucified.

I Cor. 3:16-17

- 16 Not do you know that temple of God you are
 and the Spirit of the God dwells in you?
- 17 If anyone the temple of the God
 destroys,
 destroys
 this one the God;
 For the temple of the God hole is,
 which you are

